

THE

ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER,

UNDER THE SANCTION OF

THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

Vol. 7. No. 11.—New Series.] NOVEMBER 1, 1859.

(Price Fourpence Stamped.
(Threepence Unstamped

CONTENTS.

	PAGE		PAGE
Monthly Summary.....	241	The West-India Labour Question.....	252
Speech delivered at the Sixth Anniversary of the New-York City Anti-Slavery Society	244	African Civilization Society of New York...	262
Congregational Union on American Slavery	251	Columbus Anti-Slavery Convention.....	262
Imprisonment of Coloured Seamen.....	251	Reviews	264

Monthly Summary.

DOMESTIC.—At the annual meeting of the *National Association for the advancement of Social Science*, held in St. George's Hall, Bradford, on the 10th ultimo and following days, papers were read on the second day, in the Fifth Section, under the presidency of Sir John K. Shuttleworth, on the following subjects: By Mr. Stephen Cave, M.P., on the *West-India Labour Question*; by the Rev. H. Fawcett, M.A., on the *Protection of Labour against Immigration, the Chinese and the Indian Coolie Traffic*. The papers excited an animated discussion. We are enabled to present them *in extenso* to our readers in another column. We are also gratified to learn that the expression of the anti-slavery feeling throughout the North, elicited by these discussions on the results of emancipation, has been very strongly marked.

The Committee of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society* have been appealed to in a case, which, if not slave-hunting in this country, presented feature so suspicious as to warrant the Society's immediate interference. An African trader, named Handley, temporarily resident at Blackburn, near Sheffield, and being on the point of returning to Natal, advertised in the Sheffield papers for the capture of his "servant," described as "a Kaffir boy, named Ned," who, it appears, at the end of August last, ran away on hearing of his master's intended return. A gentleman named Brady, seeing the advertisement in the papers, and having had his suspicions

strongly excited by a conversation with "Ned," suggested to the police authorities the propriety of ascertaining in what relation the boy stood to Handley, as he (Brady) suspected him to be a slave. Upon learning this, Handley served Brady with a notice of action for slander, meanwhile making his arrangements to return to Africa. The Committee of the *Anti-Slavery Society* being appealed to at this juncture, took the necessary steps for preventing the shipment of "Ned" against his will, in the event of his falling into the power of Handley, who was still prosecuting his search after him. "Ned," however, having secreted himself in the woods, baffled every attempt to capture him, and Handley left for Natal, in the *Oak*, Captain Spencer, on Sunday, the 16th of last month, with his wife, two children, and a female servant. In the mean time, "Ned," driven by hunger, caught, killed, and roasted a lamb, in the wood where he was hiding, and having thus brought himself under the law, is now in the hands of the local police. His capture has taken place whilst this Number has been going through the press. We are expecting him to be placed in our hands, and trust we may find a home for him. Meanwhile, we should be glad to receive contributions for his benefit.

The Hon. Charles Sumner has returned from France greatly improved in health. He will make a very short stay in England, as he is anxious to get back to the United States to resume his senatorial duties.

The Board of Trade have issued a circular letter to shipping masters—reprinted in another column—directing their attention to

the laws extant in the Southern States of the American Union, concerning coloured seamen brought into Southern ports.

HOLLAND.—The following is the present position, in Holland, of the question of the abolition of Slavery in the Dutch Colonies. The Colonial Minister, M. Rochussen, having presented, in the beginning of October, last year, an amended project of Emancipation, it was considered in the Second Chamber. Fifty members out of the seventy-five who constitute it took part in the preliminary examination, and reported upon it in April. This report was favourable on the whole, but some of the details were objected to. On the 11th July last, in answer to a question put to him by M. Elout van Soeterwoude, the Colonial Minister said his intention was not to make any reply to the report, but to embody in a new project the suggestions which had been made, and to present it in the course of the next session; that is, the one which has recently been opened, and on which occasion the King announced that the subject would be submitted to the legislature.

AFRICA.—In the absence of news from the West Coast, we wish to call attention to the entry into its third year of the *West-African Herald*. Two years ago it was published in manuscript. Its proprietor and editor is a native African, named Charles Bannerman, Cape Coast Castle. Under difficulties and discouragements of a nature to deter any but the most energetic and resolute mind, he prosecuted his attempt to establish an African paper for Africans. In October 1857, the number of native subscribers—at 17. 5s. a-year—was only nine. But on the 1st of March 1858, the number had reached thirty-five. On the same date in the present year, it was 130, and at this time it is 169. Its circulation is, however, very much greater, as many get the paper at one-fifth of its price, on condition of paying the full subscription as soon as they can afford it. These facts are encouraging, and prove that a taste for local newspaper literature, and a desire to learn what is transpiring in different parts of the country, have been called into existence.

In **LIBERIA** the planting of the sugarcane is progressing on a rapid scale. This kind of agriculture was tried as an experiment some two or three years ago, and, notwithstanding many drawbacks, proved so far successful as an investment for capital, that the area under cultivation was at once extended. The crop this season is estimated at 100,000 lbs. of sugar, besides several thousand gallons of molasses; but it is confidently anticipated that the next crop will reach 300,000 lbs. The beginning is small, but the sign is hopeful. Several thousand pounds weight of cotton have also been exported to America this year, which have afforded a good return.

AMERICA.—Frederick Douglass has announced his departure for Great Britain as likely to take place the first week in November.

The motto adopted by W. S. Bailey, proprietor and editor of *The Free South*, published at Newport, Kentucky, and in whose behalf an appeal is now being made, is "No Slave States: no Slave Territory." Boldness this, in a Slave State, and deserving of encouragement.

The National Era, referring to the coming election for the Presidency, considers it quite clear, that unless the Republican party elect a President in 1860, no election by the people can take place. The number of electoral votes, including Kansas—which will in all probability be admitted at the next session of Congress—will be 306, and a majority of this number, necessary to a choice of a President and Vice President, is 154. The South has 120 electors, and the Free States, including Kansas, will number 186 electors. So that the Black Democracy cannot succeed unless they can carry every Southern State, and Northern States enough to make up 34 electors. It adds a table of the number of electors belonging to each State, with the aggregate political strength of the Free and Slave States respectively. It is sufficiently important to reproduce.

Free States.—The Free States will be entitled to votes in the electoral college as follows:

Maine	8	Michigan	6
New Hampshire	5	Indiana	13
Vermont	5	Illinois	11
Massachusetts	13	Iowa	4
Rhode Island	4	Wisconsin	5
Connecticut	6	California	4
New York	45	Minnesota	4
New Jersey	7	Oregon	3
Pennsylvania	27	Kansas	3
Ohio	22		
		Total	186

Slave States.—The Slave States will be entitled to votes in the electoral college as follows—

Virginia	15	Louisiana	6
Delaware	3	Arkansas	4
Maryland	8	Tennessee	12
North Carolina	10	Kentucky	12
South Carolina	8	Missouri	9
Georgia	10	Florida	3
Alabama	9	Texas	4
Mississippi	7		
		Total	120

Total vote of Free States	186
Total vote of Slave States	120

Majority for Free States 66

Aggregate vote of Free and Slave States	630
Majority necessary to elect a President	154

Two petitions are in circulation through Massachusetts; one to the Legislature, for the suppression of slave-hunting under the Fugitive Slave Law; the other, for the removal from the State-House grounds of the recently-erected statue of Daniel Webster, whose last years were spent in defending the Fugitive Slave Law.

A large meeting, convened by the *Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society* to celebrate the anniversary of emancipation, was held at Boston on the 1st of August, which was largely attended. Similar gatherings had also been held in other parts of the country, and one at St Louis, Missouri.

WEST INDIES.—His Excellency Governor Wodehouse, of British Guiana, has informed the Court of Policy that orders have been issued from the Colonial Office to Mr. Austin, the agent in China for the colony, to proceed at once to collect the 2200 Chinese labourers applied for by the planters. It appears, however, that the Duke of Newcastle insists upon the applicants paying two-thirds of the expense, while the latter have agreed to pay only seventy dollars, leaving the balance, whatever it might be, as a charge upon the colonial exchequer. Under these circumstances, the planters who had sent in demands for Chinese immigrants on these conditions, have withdrawn their application, and refuse to pay their share—namely fourteen dollars—of the extra cost of the passage of each Chinese labourer, but ask to be permitted to have Coolies in lieu of them, on payment of fifty dollars per head towards the expense of importing them. Governor Wodehouse has peremptorily refused to entertain the proposition, observing that he construed the withdrawal of their application as an admission that the planters were “not really so much in want of labour as they represent.” To our mind no clearer evidence is necessary to shew that the planters consider the immigrant valuable only in proportion as he is paid for out of public funds. The gross expense to be borne by the colony for immigration purposes this year stands as follows, according to the statements made in the court at its several sittings: 5400 Coolies have been applied for, and it is expected that the entire number will be obtained. The planters’ share is fifty dollars per head, being estimated at two-thirds of the cost. The sum payable by the colony for that number of Coolies will therefore be 125,000 dollars. If the 2200 Chinese ordered should be obtained by Mr. Austin, the colony’s share of the expense of these, taking eighty-four dollars to be two-thirds of the cost, will amount to 92,400 dollars; making a total of 217,400 dollars, payable out of the colonial revenues for the expenses merely of passages of Coolies and Chinese, without reference to the expenses of Portuguese immigration, the ex-

penses of agencies in the colony and at the ports of embarkation, the back passages falling due this year, and the sums payable in the shape of interest on immigration debts previously incurred. These items do not in the aggregate fall far short of another 100,000 dollars; thus making the immigration expenses thrown upon the public chest of the year little less than one-fourth of the entire revenue of the colony, which is for the present year estimated at 1,252,294 dollars. Another item of expenditure on immigration account has also become chargeable to the colony, namely, the difference between the value of the deposits of savings made by returning Coolies when leaving the colony, and the market value of the dollar at Calcutta. In some cases this difference has amounted to as much as 8 per cent.

A Bill to provide for the better management of estates’ hospitals has also been passed, which it is calculated will secure to immigrants better medical treatment. There was a faint show of opposition, but the Governor intimated, that if it was not passed, he should oppose any further immigration. The Bill provides for the appointment of a medical inspector, (to be paid by the colony,) whose duty it will be to visit the hospitals at least twice a-year, and who, in conjunction with the colonial surgeon-general and another medical man, is authorised to frame rules and regulations for the guidance of the estates’ hospital staff; and it empowers the Governor, for any gross violation of its provisions on the part of the proprietor or his manager, to remove the immigrants from the estate, and indenture them to other people. Power is given also to the stipendiary magistrate, as under a previous ordinance (now defunct,) to visit the hospital and adjudicate on complaints made by any of the people; and there is one provision, not in the old ordinance, but apparently a very necessary one, giving the manager power to compel a labourer, who may be pronounced by the doctor to be sick, to go into the hospital.

The *Royal Gazette* is very wroth with the Rev. W. G. Barrett, for his pamphlet on immigration. Dr. Shier—whose evidence the pamphleteer had quoted—has also come out with a letter, in which he states that Mr. Barrett has garbled his statements, and made him to say the exact reverse of what he has said.

In Jamaica, the clerks of vestries in the several parishes have issued notices under the new electoral law, which will come into operation on the 1st of January next, to the effect, that every voter claiming his right to vote, must send in his claim on or before the 1st of November forthcoming, impressed with a ten shilling stamp. Besides this, he must also comply with the conditions of the 15th clause of the Act, which states that “no person’s name shall be placed upon the regis-

ter in any year, as a *freeholder*, unless his title to the lands upon which he claims to vote shall have been enrolled in the office of enrolments for three months at least previous to the day of giving in his claim to be registered: or, as a voter on a *rent*, unless he shall have been in receipt of such rent, received for three months at least next previous to the day of giving in his claim to vote: or, as a *tenant*, unless he shall have been in the occupation of the house rented for three months at least next previous to the day of giving in his claim: or, on *salary*, unless he shall have been constantly employed, and received such salary for twelve months at least next previous to the day of giving in his claim: or, upon *taxes*, unless he shall have paid such taxes, during the financial year terminating the 30th day of September next previous to the day of giving in his claim; or the amount deposited in a Bank, or invested in island securities, shall have been so deposited or invested for a period of twelve months previous to giving in his claim." There is much commotion amongst the peasantry, on account of the new measure, which, however, is stoutly defended by the island press.

A disturbance had taken place in Spanish Town, arising out of the application of certain Chinese for return passages, which had been refused. Fortunately the excitement was allayed without bloodshed, though it was at one time, very threatening. It seems, that some five years ago, several Chinese were imported in the *Glentanner*, under contract, and believing that they would be entitled to a back passage. The survivors, 300 in number, having completed their term of industrial residence, waited upon Mr. David Ewart, the Agent-General of Immigration, to whom the Governor had referred them, and claimed their right to a back passage, or to the commutation of 10*l.* per head. Mr. Ewart, however, informed them, that they had been introduced under an Act (called Girod's Immigration Act) which contained no provision for their re-shipment to China, or for the payment of commutation-money. The Chinese protested, in vain, that it was only on the condition of a return passage, or commutation in lieu thereof, that they had emigrated: the Agent-General could do nothing for them. They besieged his office for several successive days, becoming more clamorous each time; and at length, arming themselves with brickbats, threatened violence if their demands were not complied with. The police now interfered, and conveyed two of the chief men to the cage. They were subsequently set at liberty through the mediation of Mr. Ewart, and the mass of them were advertising to renew their industrial engagements, conditionally upon receiving 10*l.* bounty each.

The island press still continues its furious attacks upon the *Anti-Slavery Society* and its Secretary. We observe, that although the various journals—with one exception—hastened to publish, with comments more or less abusive, Mr. Cave's letter charging L. A. Chamerovzow with calumniating the Jamaica planters, at the London-Tavern Meeting of the 13th July last, not one of them—with the exception of the *Watchman*—has had the honesty to re-produce Mr. Chamerovzow's reply. Yet these are the individuals who attribute unfairness to the *Anti-Slavery Society*.

MAURITIUS.—Immigration to this island proceeds upon a scale which is beginning to excite uneasiness. The *Overland Commercial Gazette* of the 10th September sets down the total number of Coolies introduced to that date from the 1st of January in the present year at 31,178; namely, males, 21,993, females, 9180; and requisitions for 23,885, who remain to be forwarded from India, were lying at the immigration office, besides 2520 on Government demand. The immigration for the current year—if all the immigrants come—will therefore amount to nearly 60,000. Only 3771 had returned to India, and the net increase to the Indian population during the year had been 28,433. In the budget for the ensuing year, Government provides for the introduction of 10,000 Indians. The budget for the present year shews an excess of expenditure over that of the last of 51,955*l.*, more than this increase being represented by the immigration service, namely, 35,468*l.* on the general account, and Indian agency 17,371*l.*: total, 52,839*l.*, or nearly 1000*l.* beyond the net increase in the expenditure.

An inquiry into the *Shah Jehan* case, referred to in our last Summary, had resulted in an acquittal of the captain and crew of all blame.

SPEECH DELIVERED AT THE SIXTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE NEW-YORK CITY ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, BY WENDELL PHILLIPS.

(Phonographic Report by W. Henry Burr.)

"MR. CHAIRMAN—I think the anti-slavery enterprise has reason to rejoice at the appearance of our meetings this week. They are, indeed, as our friend has just told us, encouraging. We have had larger houses; we have gone through two days with fairer audiences than we have enjoyed for many years. And, more even than that, we have been privileged to welcome to our platform two, three, or four new names—young names, coming to lay their influence and their talent on the slave's altar. I think we have abundant reason to take courage. It has been a week full of good auspices.

"The young friend who preceded me alluded to me as likely to 'pounce' upon what he con-

sidered his differences. I have no heart to 'pounce.' I remember, twenty years ago, when I made my first speech to an anti-slavery audience, and I know that I anticipated then as little as he does now the weight of the yoke and the burden which I took up. God grant that what we have done in twenty years may make his path smoother! (Applause.) God grant that our battered bodies may fill up the gap, and make him an easy road to walk; our labours giving him influence, and assuring him success. Nobody will rejoice in it more than we shall.

"But he thinks too little of the martyrdom which an anti-slavery profession ensures even in 1859. The day of mobs and personal violence is gone, but the world is still our enemy. The great political, the great religious world is still against us. A vast gulf divides the outspoken Abolitionist from the sympathy of his countrymen in thirty States. This gulf is not yet bridged over; hardly the first stone of the arch is laid. Let him gird up his loins—the age of martyrdom is not gone; he himself will be called upon to face it, in averted looks, in misunderstood motives, in prospects blighted, in pathway edged up, in name slandered, in the press watching to catch him at fault, and making him 'an offender for a word,' in a thousand ways worse than the thumb-screw. And yet it is nothing; it is God's highway of glorious happiness, this service of down-trodden humanity. It is a holiday, a haleyon gala—this platform—compared with the unrecorded heroism and martyrdom of those for whom we labour. They stand forth like the slave-girl whose lover, the other day, put her into a box, and left her to go with him as freight over the railway. Left accidentally for another train, standing on her head twenty-four hours, the dust of the box was emptied on her nostrils and eyes; and yet, with a heroism which romance labours in vain to describe, she controlled every emotion, and stifled every groan for twenty-four hours, until, after that martyrdom, she was wafted to the safe shelter of a friend's roof, where no one dared to speak, so terrible was the suspense whether she were still alive.

"What is our task? To take that groan which the martyred hero controlled and smothered, multiply it a million fold, and thunder it in the face of a recreant and servile Church, and a huckstering and bloody state, till they awaken to duty. (Applause.)

"Our young friend said that I should be likely to criticise Dr. Cheever. Every one of your plaudits, when his name was uttered, my heart echoed as cordially as any one here. (Applause.) No man shall out-do me in appreciating the glorious, the God-touched lips, the devoted life of that 'Puritan of the Puritans.' (Applause.) Our young friend cannot say too much—not a word to which I would not say amen! I believe that Dr. Cheever loves the slave so heartily, so devotedly, so Christianly, that if I, of twenty years' experience, think he is throwing his weight into the wrong scale, he would thank me, on his bended knees, for saving the humblest heart that beats before me from being misled by his example. (Applause.) I believe in him so

heartily, that I think he loves the criticism that saves him, or attempts to save him, from diverting anti-slavery sentiment, or letting it be wasted for a single hour, with such a momentous work to do.

"Now, friends, let me tell you a story. Seventy-five years ago, a dozen men were met in an upper chamber in Lombard Street, London, to launch the anti-slavery enterprise. It was made up chiefly of Quakers, of one or two laymen, and Granville Sharpe. The question was, How shall we shape this great movement? Shall we turn it against Slavery in the islands, or shall we take the half-awakened conscience of the nation, and turn it against the odious slave-trade? The Quakers and laymen of the Committee said, 'We dare not lift our hands and voices against the colossal power of the West-India interest, anchored in fabulous amount of wealth, defended by the public sentiment of Great Britain, endorsed by the Churches. We shall lose our labours if we touch it. Here is a little branch of the system, the trade; men already hate it; we will attack that; and when we have cut off the trade, we will proceed to cut off the system.' 'Granville Sharpe walked up and down the room,' says an eye-witness, holding his hands up in solemn protest against this compromise with wealth, public opinion, and religious sentiment. He said, 'Gentlemen, you will incur no greater odium by attacking the very root of the tree than you will by touching the branches; and by doing that, every man will see, at a glance, the consistency of your rebuke! You save your character, you save your influence, you vindicate religion, you save half a century, you save the slave.' They turned aside, compromised, were politic. They said, 'We will gain peace; we will get inside of the Church and of mercantile interest; we will do this thing adroitly, and better than in the way you propose.' He left them with the solemn warning—'You are tampering with justice. God, when he founded the universe, made it certain that every bargain with the devil should weaken the man who makes it.' (Applause)

"Fifty years rolled away. Wilberforce lay upon his death-bed when they brought him the news that a project was already entertained for the emancipation of the slave. It is said that he repeated then, what he had said twenty years before, when the slave-trade was abolished—"The great mistake that we made was when we shut our ears against Granville Sharpe, and attempted to be wiser than God, and more powerful than truth." (Applause.)

"Now, what Granville Sharpe did in 1783, with the Phillpases and Clarksons of Lombard Street, we do to-day with Dr. Cheever and Henry Ward Beecher. (Applause.) I want to shew that we are doing just that: that we are doing it as lovingly, in as brotherly a spirit, as Granville Sharpe, remonstrated with his associates; without any feeling of bitterness, willing that they should walk on the heights of anti-slavery interest and influence, and gather the harvest of popular confidence and appreciation; not envious of either, but only desirous that they should use the talent God has given them for the greatest service of the slave. I thank God, in all serious-

ness, that he has not put me under that momentous responsibility under which he has placed Ward Beecher and Dr. Cheever. I do not know that I could stand under the temptation which assails them; but, afraid of it, and standing outside of it, I can see the game better than the player, and I am bound, for the slave's sake, to say what experience has taught me.

"Our friend thinks I have not been just to Dr. Cheever. Let me ask him one question. Where has Dr. Cheever been this morning? He has been at a meeting of the *Church Anti-Slavery Society*. Let me say, before I go on, one thing. No man on this platform asks Ward Beecher or Dr. Cheever to come here; no man asks them to join the *American Anti-Slavery Society*. All we ask of them is to assume the same attitude toward the religious and political mistakes and crimes of the day which this Society assumes. If they prefer to labour separately, we say Amen! But we have laboured on this platform for twenty-five years; and if we did not think it the best method, of course we should not waste our time in pushing it. That is the reason why we think they would do well to come here, though we do not ask them to come here. Where has Dr. Cheever been this morning? At a meeting of the *Church Anti-Slavery Society*. His young friend, who came to our platform last night, Mr. Gilbert, is understood to have said that not the keenest eye of a Philadelphia lawyer could distinguish between their platform and ours. 'They are identical,' he says. I have not examined theirs, and therefore cannot say ay or no to the proposition; but I take it for granted, that what he states is correct. Why, then, does Dr. Cheever go there, instead of coming here; Why does he call it a *Church Anti-Slavery Society*? My friend says that his connection with the Church, in consequence of the flimsy organization of Congregationalism, is so equivocal, so slight, that really he does not thus give any religious support to Slavery. If that be so, why does he go and meet in a separate room, under a different name, with different associates from ourselves, when their principles are identical with ours? Is it not evident as noon-day, that he means to make an anti-slavery movement under the auspices of the so-called American Church?—that whether he is Congregational or Presbyterian, he chooses that Europe shall look over to America and say, 'Behold, now, the American Church grapples with the devil of the Carolinas!' and the heart of every church-member of Europe shall rise up and say, 'I, too, am a Christian; see the mighty work Christianity is doing on the other side of the water!' He means to show that the American Church is with her heart in the right place. Now, there is the root—the fork at which we separate. We believe that the American Church is rotten at the core. (Applause and hisses.) Why these hisses? Who educates the American people? The noblest men and women whom God creates are carried over your railroads as freight. They dare not tell their names in the great streets of your capital cities. They are hiding by day, and journeying under the cover of midnight, until they set their feet in Canada. No river that has not been stained by

the blood of Abolitionists—that has not received into its bosom the press which the public opinion of the community would not allow to utter anti-slavery sentiments! The Fugitive Slave Bill a possibility; thirty men on trial in Ohio, and, so far, every one convicted, whose offence was obeying the Sermon on the Mount! Who educated this people? A type of manhood, if you choose to call it such (I do not), sits in the Presidential chair, the like of which cannot be found this side of hell! (applause)—the lees of a worn-out politician—a political slave, who only differs from the black one on the auction-block of the Carolinas in the fact, that one is black outside, and the other is black inside. (Laughter and applause.) Who has educated these thirty millions for the last thirty years? The American Church leaned over their cradles with their mothers' smiles, took the babe at baptism, gave it its first pulse of religious life, walked by its side through boyhood, ministered to its education, stood by it at every sacred, impressive moment of life, marriage, and death, rejoicing and sadness! A slave-hunting, woman-whipping, soul-selling people, not knowing yet the difference between a sheep and a man—who educated them? The American Church, whose moral sense groans out of forty thousand pulpits. I hold the Church responsible for the character of the nation, which God gave, as a new-born babe, into its hands and said, "Educate for me this people." Here is the result! (Applause.)

Now, I say, such a Church is no Church of Jesus Christ. (Applause.) As that dear brother who has gone—God bless him with soft gales and better health!—to the sunny skies of the West Indies—as Theodore Parker says, (applause,) they are the Churches of commerce, not the Churches of Christianity. Now, here is the radical difference: Dr. Cheever cannot deny the momentous influence of this religious sentiment. My young friend touched the Bible. I know its importance as well as he does. He said, 'Let no man call me an infidel.' Dr. Bethune! honour me with the name of infidel, if you call yourself a Christian! (Applause.) If I had children to bear my name, I would claim it as the proudest legacy that I could leave them, that history should save for me the fact that, at a time when metropolitan pulpits preached slaveholding as a duty, men honoured me by calling me an infidel. (Applause. I know the value of the Bible; I found my hope of emancipation on the religious sentiment of thirty States. How may I teach that sentiment? My friend gave us a speech, clear, logical, and eloquent; that is his way. Now, I will tell you mine. The masses do not read, and cannot stop to follow out a chain of intellectual inferences. They understand facts. God gives us men as texts. There stands Dr. Cheever in a congregational pulpit; Ward Beecher holds his left hand; Dr. Blagden, of the Old South, who thinks St. Paul would have bought and sold slaves, holds the other. The American people, who have been listening to the Congregational Church for fifty years, look upon that trinity of influences. They say 'Our fathers have used the Bible as these men understand it, singing from the same hymn books, sitting in the same pews.' Outside of that

pulpit stands Parker Pillsbury: he cannot say words against slavery as bitter as Dr. Cheever; when he has stirred his soul to the depths, he cannot thunder so like Isaiah. Why does the Church tolerate Dr. Cheever a hundred per cent more quietly than she tolerates Mr. Pillsbury? Why has the latter been followed for a dozen years with every ingenuity of libel and misinterpretation, while Dr. Cheever is answered and argued with? Because the Church remembers that every brave word that Dr. Cheever utters is a jewel in her crown; for it is proving to those outside infidels and doubters that a man can stand robed in congregational black silk and ministerial gown, and still outdo the strongest voice on the anti-slavery platform in rebuking the slaveholder.

"Now, is Dr. Cheever willing to strengthen the American Church? If he is, he is in the right place; if he is not, he is in the wrong place. Is he willing to put a salve on the religious sentiment of New England? If he is, he is in the right place; if not, he is in the wrong place.

"There was an ordination in this city within a year or two—of Dr. Buddington, I think. Ward Beecher was at it; by his side sat Dr. Blagden, and, I think, Dr. Adams, the author of the *South-side View*. Ward Beecher has uttered many a noble word. If I could envy any man the gifts God gave him, I would envy those lips which God's own hand has touched and consecrated to the service of humanity. But ten years of devoted service—ay, though he sends us loving apostles, like the young man who came here to-night—will hardly outweigh that foul wrong which he threw into the scale against the slave when he sat in the same religious pulpit with Nehemiah Adams, and let the world believe that he regarded him as a Christian brother. (Applause.)

"Now, I speak what I believe. I have been throughout New England, in its three hundred towns, for twenty years. I have stood outside of these churches. I have seen clergymen preaching, occasionally, anti-slavery sermons—gathered around them a few half-awakened hundreds of New England minds. I have seen the coldness of spiritual death settle down in those congregations, and the little spark of anti-slavery life that we had been wishing to kindle, go out beneath the benumbing influence of this general fellowship of American Christianity. We see Dr. Cheever attempting the same experiment. We say he is making a great mistake. We have seen this in politics. A dozen years ago, I said to a young Whig, the son of an ex-President, 'Sir, you are not in heart in the Whig party. You stay there, thinking you may convert the party. I will tell you what you will do. You will stay two years; they will undermine you every month; they will kick you out in twenty-four months; and when they have done this, they will have undermined you so thoroughly that no man will follow you from your place.' The result proved it. Now, do you suppose the cunning orthodoxy of New York city is quiet, while Dr. Cheever stands where he does? If he would go out to-day—if he would shut the door of his church against the *American Board*, and the *Tract Society*, and the *Bible Society*—the whole conspiracy of religion,

(so-called) Societies—if he would say, 'I am a Christian man, and this is a Christian pulpit; I judge men by their fruits; I do not care for their creed in this great hour of crisis; I deny the Christianity of those Churches about me that trade in slaves, that touch hands with slaveholders'—if he would say that, all New England would rise up, recognising the fact that Christianity and Slavery had got into a death-grapple.

"To-day, England looks on, and sees the *Tract Society* in a quarrel. What does she say? 'Christians quarrelling about a matter of which I cannot know the facts, and therefore cannot judge.' She sees my good friend John Jay, engaged as I think Cowper says, 'in dropping buckets into empty wells, and labouring hard in drawing nothing up' (laughter), endeavouring to fathom so deep that he can find the hard pan of Christianity in Daniel Lord's heart. (Laughter and applause.) It is what the Republican party is doing in Massachusetts—endeavouring to save the remnant of fossil Whigs. It is what it is doing in the Western States—consulting the retainers of Stephen A. Douglass, instead of endeavouring, by a consistent, rigid adherence to absolute right, to educate the people that stand behind this institution, and make a public sentiment that will render emancipation possible.

"I am sometimes accustomed to compare my country to that vast natural phenomenon upon its Atlantic coast—the gulf-stream. This body of water flows with a strong, steady, and constant current from the south to the north, gradually lessening in intensity, but yet carrying its influence from the capes of Florida to Hatteras, from Hatteras to Nantucket, from Nantucket to the banks of Newfoundland and Labrador, and thence spreading them over the whole western shore of northern and southern Europe. Like the gulf-stream, all our influences come from the South. The South gives us our Presidents, and the politics that guide them; it gives us the cotton, coffee, tobacco, and sugar, that create our commerce, quicken our industry, clothe our frames, stimulate us in languor, soothe us in excitement, and sweeten our every repast. But the inquirers and philosophers tell us that far down beneath the surface of this steady impulse that bears so many and so great influences northward, there runs a constant and mighty stream of cold, calm, and refreshing waters from the north, which return to the south the energies it has lost. Sometimes a mighty iceberg, rearing high above the surface, its brilliant yet icy head—some Daniel Webster, glittering, yet grand and gloomy, fast anchoring in the calm, cool influences that flow beneath the surface of our affairs—breasts the upper current, and holds its sway steadily southward. The southern waves dash against it, and their influences continually work upon it. Little by little it melts away before them as it advances; now a jutting point gives way, now a soaring pinnacle falls, till at last the mighty mass itself bows its head, and is overwhelmed by the all-surrounding waters, to be seen and heard no more. So it is with Beecher and Cheever. Grown up under the pure influences of the north, and grounded and anchored in its deepest current, they believe they can hold on their course and cool the fever heat of the gulf-stream that flows around and

against them. Their influence will melt away like the iceberg, and, like it, they will gradually disappear, till they sink and are heard of no more. (Applause.)

"Now, how shall we reach this public mind? How shall we educate it? As I was telling my friend, you cannot take a million of people, and chain them to a premise and conclusion. But there stands Ward Beecher, with his avowed anti-slavery principles; here stands Dr. Cheever; in another quarter stand ourselves. The public are looking to us. If we want to educate these millions of men whose eyes are fastened upon us, we must consent that each should say to the other, 'Here you are wrong; that is not the method.' I want to prove to half a million of Ohio men that sublime truth which Mr. Tilton told us breathed from the pages of the Bible—the dignity of manhood, the sacredness of humanity, and the overwhelming Godhood that resides in every God-created soul! How shall I do it? I cannot make the State of Ohio listen, but I can do it thus: Ohio thinks Dr. Cheever an eloquent, faithful, Christian man. We catch her ear; I say to her, 'Dearly beloved Christian brethren, that man does not know yet that the negro is a man. You think him an eminent, eloquent, far-advanced, far-sighted Christian. We will tell you what he does. He says, to-day, that though the American Church has taken the slave, and bound him hands and feet, and thrust him overboard, he will still linger with his Christian brethren, and try to convince them of their sin. And he says at the same time that, should they dare to shave down one tittle of the doctrine of natural depravity, he would cut them in an instant.' We, therefore, declare that he has not yet learned that a man is better than a sheep or a doctrine. Ohio will reply, 'You are wrong; Christianity is not merely anti-slavery.' Well, we never said it was; but Christianity has her peculiar tests in every generation, and the test that God applies now is the slave. Christ knocks at the door of every Christian church in thirty states, by the black hand of the negro slave, and those who hear his voice answer, and go out. It is the Divine Master calling his own. Every one of his sheep, whose heart is awakened to the great question of the nineteenth century, follows the Saviour to the hovel of the slave. Luther settled doctrine, Calvin settled church government, the reformation settled the right to read the Bible; what we have got to settle is, that all races, black as well as white, are one in the bosom of a common Saviour and of God, and the New Testament that does not recognise him, is not the New Testament of Christ.

"Now, there has been a great growth in this direction—an immense growth. Let me show it to you. When I began my anti-slavery life, men talked freely at the North about Slavery and the slaveholder. If a politician got up, he defended Slavery; if a divine got up, he defended Slavery. They don't do it now. I will tell you what they do. There is great power in words. This Bible has a text in it—'He that shall blaspheme against the Holy Ghost hath never forgiveness, but is in danger of eternal damnation.' A Mr. Sawyer has given us a new translation. He thinks there are a great many harsh phrases in this Bible, and how do you

suppose he translates that text? 'He that shall blaspheme against the Holy Ghost hath never forgiveness, but is the subject of an eternal mistake.' Just so about Slavery. Ten years ago, if Rufus Choate had been making the speech which he made last year, he would have said, 'We have freedom in New England, and Slavery in the Carolinas.' But now he does not like that word Slavery; Garrison has made it hateful: so he says, 'We have one type of labour in New England, and another type of labour in the Carolinas.' Another speaker hides it under the sweet phrase of 'unenlightened labour.' The Mississippi Legislature, when they were endeavouring to defend the institution of the State, said, 'We have a mercantile class; we are beginning to have a manufacturing class; we have also economic subordination.' And the *Methodist General Conference*, when they were dealing with Bishop Andrew, recommended him to get rid of his 'impediment,' by which they meant his slaves. So Wisconsin, when she gave two or three millions of dollars to her Legislature, did not call it a bribe, but 'a pecuniary favour.' There is a great deal in words. We have made men ashamed here at the North of using the word Slavery. It is a proof of an unconscious or conscious uneasiness in the region of the heart and conscience. Men do not think it is right, after all; they are beginning to struggle up to a sentiment against Slavery. Now, what are we to do with that blind sentiment? Guide it; instruct it; set it right. How shall we do it? By claiming this Bible as ours; by claiming the Church of Christ as ours: by saying, as Melancthon and Luther said, when the Pope declared them heretics, and they retorted, 'We are the Church; whoever differs from us is a heretic.' So, not in a sense of vaunting or vanity, we are to say, 'Christianity, to-day, in her first work, is an anti-slavery enterprise, and the man who does not see it is not worthy the name of a Christian.'

"Now, I do not suppose that my friend and I agree in our theological tenets. You cannot aggregate men by belief in dogmas. How are you going to aggregate them? By agreement in purpose. Dr. Cheever does not agree with Dr. Furness, but they are both willing to get their right hand on the jugular vein of Slavery. That is what brings them together. When Dr. Cheever awakes to the normal fact that there is not strength enough in the nation to spare a man nor a woman from this great enterprise—that he is bound to make it broad as God has made the conscience of the nation—he will not get up a *Church Congregational Anti-Slavery Society*; he will say, 'If there is an infidel Abolitionist in New York, I will go this very morning, and find him out, clasp him to my bosom, and so help my brother.' It is a very easy thing to sit on a platform, like a scholar or churchman, and criticise somebody else for their dogmas. It is a very easy thing for a dozen fastidious men, now sitting in these seats, to say that I am a vulgar utterer of Billingsgate, and they could have made a great deal prettier speech. No doubt they could. Scholarship folds its arms and says, 'These agitators are vulgar fellows;' and it trims its phrases, and balances its periods, and says, with Shakspeare, that war would have been

a mighty gallant thing if it had not been for this villainous saltpetre. And the church says, 'A religious profession, and a good name, and the old-fashioned formulas, are all excellent, valuable, and necessary, towards the reformation of the world, but that man don't believe in the Trinity.' But the real lover of his kind, the real Christian heart that looks down into that Carolina hovel, and sees the faltering bondman calculating the chances of escape for himself or his wife, looking to this colossal North, with its Christian character and its marshalled strength, and losing heart for the attempt when he sees its unbroken phalanx—such a heart rushes down into the street, and seizes every earnest man by the right hand and left, and says, 'Come, brother, let us make this world happier than we found it!' He welcomes every sort of co-operation, and criticism from every quarter.

"Now, what I would like to do is, not to overlook the differences between me and Dr. Cheever; they are no differences of words; they are no light differences, but radical and philosophical differences. My young friend does not see the gulf that divides us. It is as broad as the Atlantic. Dr. Cheever believes—at least I suppose he believes—that the man who believes in the five points of Calvinism, and leads a moral life, in 1859, is a Christian, even if he has not awakened to the claim which the South Carolina slave has upon his sympathies, and which Nehemiah Adams has to his loathing. Now, my Christianity is not measured by creeds nor professions. I have stood in the city of Boston, with forty steeples pointing to the sky; I have seen chains around the Court-house; I have seen a hopeless fugitive slave incarcerated within it; I have seen seventy thousand persons, on a Sabbath-day, go into those churches, and utter prayers to God, and not one of them lifted up a little finger of sympathy for the brother 'guilty of a skin not coloured like his own,' who was panting under laws which they made, which their countenance sustained, and which their brother Christians were taking muskets to execute in the streets; and I said to myself, 'Is this the natural result of the preaching of Jesus Christ eighteen hundred and forty-four years ago? No! It came up from the bottomless pit, I don't care what name you give to it. Judge men by their fruits; he that loveth his brother is of God; he that saith he loveth God, and hateth his brother, is a liar, and the truth is not in him.'

"Now, I learned my Christianity sitting at the feet of the loved and beloved apostle. I know that when men feel as bound with other men, they can say to the 'Puritan of the Puritans,' 'How did Puritans act?' They put the Atlantic betwixt them and a corrupt church; they came three thousand miles away. The man who came over in the Arbella, whose name I bear, said, 'If you think me a minister by the calling they gave me in England, I will throw off the robe; for a corrupt church cannot make a true minister.' I want Dr. Cheever to say as much as they said in 1630. I want him to say that a church which hides Slavery in her bosom is as bad as a church that hides bishops.

"I am in earnest. I would thank God if I could sit down and never utter another word on the

subject of Slavery; to lead a life of professional or of any other leisure. Why do I come here? I ought not to find room here! Bred a lawyer, what right have I on a platform which Christianity ought to have crowded with the gowns of Congregational ministers? But as in all history, so now, the priest and Levite desert the man who has fallen among thieves, and leave the Samaritan to go along the roadside, and pick him up, and introduce him to the sympathy of Christendom.

"Why, friends, we are only telling the old tale which the whole world has told for four thousand years. What is this book? (taking up the Bible.) It is a record of the everlasting struggle betwixt progress and priesthood, betwixt ideas and organized ecclesiastical institutions. What was Jeremiah? He was the Garrison to the priests of Jerusalem in his own day. And does not every man know it? Recently, in your Natural History rooms, I was shewn a coral. Dr. Carpenter said to me, 'While that coral lived a breathing animal, he set his face against the Pacific, and by the very elasticity of life beat back its waves. He bears up against the whole force of the ocean; but the moment he dies, and becomes a shell, the ocean wears him away, as it does any other rock.' Just so it is with the ocean of sin. When God touches a heart with his own fresh inspiration in the highways of life—with a new idea like that of John the Baptist in the wilderness of progress—like the coral, it beats back the Carolinas, and says, 'Take care of yourself!' But the moment it hardens into shell, if it be even the church of the Puritans, the world wears it as it does any other granite. This is the universal history of institutions. My young friend is only called to the same going out into the wilderness that every man who has had a new idea has been obliged to meet ever since the world began. And if we shall have even our church come up at last, hardened into shell, to be an obstacle in the way of truth and freedom, God, I hope, will raise some living wheel to crush it to atoms in the generation which is to come.

"I have taken a longer time than I ought, and yet I have not said one half of what I meant to have said. My lesson, on leaving the topic which has carried me aside, and in dismissing this anti-slavery gathering, is this: Utter your absolute truth, no matter where it cuts. Tell what God tells you; practise it outright. The fault of the church, the fault of the politics of the present day, is, that it makes compromises. Daniel Webster went down among the Egyptians, and betrayed the North. What was the Republicanism of Massachusetts engaged in last winter? Setting up a bronze statue of Daniel Webster in front of the State-house. Why did they do it? Because they do not want to say hard words; because they think words harder than actions; because this religious Church of ours has eaten out the life of the American people; because we have not got men, but pieces of men—Presbyterians, Whigs, Democrats, arms, legs, a million of which would not make a man. Go to Paris; look on that throne where sits a usurper, his robes stiff with the blood of the best men in France; see Napoleon, with his right hand resting on Jesuitism, and his left on the wealth of the Capital. And yet, though that

usurper is offering temptations of office and wealth to the great men, the literary celebrities of France, that country has the proud record to make, that no man distinguished in her political or literary annals has ever bowed the knee to the usurper, notwithstanding he offers all these powerful temptations to them, and drives them into dungeons or exile, as the penalty for refusing to swear allegiance. Catholic, gay, superficial, rotten France has never found an apostate; and yet the South can buy up Northern men in Protestant America as fast as nature can make them. You call that Protestantism the Church: I call it a sham. I hope to be a Christian. I know the fathers who begat me—the six generations who have dwelt upon this land, and laboured to make this a Christian people. I should indeed be a bastard if I let the infidel French capital believe, that the craven Church that dare not lift up its voice in the face of a man who sells his brother on the auction-block represented my idea of the New Testament. I used to think, if you wanted to have a dirty piece of work done, you should get a minister to do it. John Selden said so two hundred years ago, in the days of the great rebellion; and every religious Society whose action I have criticised proves it to-day. But my own profession has outdone them to-day—the Lords and the Ketchums in the *Tract Society* meeting this morning, fling down conscience, dividing hairs, throwing dust in the eyes of honest men.

"It is hard to dismiss an anti-slavery meeting; it is hard to let you go. If I were at liberty to tell you the innumerable stories of the heroism, the sagacity, the sacrifices of the slave—if I could only open to you the records of the underground railroad—you would see how ashamed we are when we stand in the presence of these whom we receive under our roofs. No man of you could stand the eloquent sight of a fresh fugitive, doing deeds that no record of white valour equals. We want the ability to put them in the streets, and tell their names. We want your churches to be altars to which they would flee before they come to us. One of your clergymen preached a sermon in support of the Fugitive Slave Law. It was printed in your *Journal of Commerce*. Daniel Webster praised it. Three weeks afterwards, before the ink was dry, that very man was on the doorstep of a clerical friend of his and mine, with a fugitive slave behind him who had got to his door. He could not practise his own doctrine. He came to his anti-slavery brother clergyman, and said, 'Where do you put these folks? I don't know what to do, but she ought to be out of sight in an hour; you have some way—tell me of it.'

"Oh, the slave is a sermon with an act. If we could only present such a face, such a scene to you—if we could only make you initiate a religious, a political sentiment that should make New York a shelter and a refuge! Give us a Bill that there shall be no slave-hunt in the Empire State. Thirty men on trial at Cleveland for having obeyed God, and rescued a fellow-being! I thank God that it is possible to have thirty such heroes exist among us! The State of Wisconsin throwing down her gauntlet to the nation, and saying, 'There never shall be slave-

hunt on my soil,' and the Supreme Court endorsing it! Thank God for New England! Base as she is, she begat Wisconsin; and Wisconsin is an honour to the mother that gave her birth. Get out of your graves; let me dig you out of William H. Seward; get you up on your own feet that your mothers gave you. W. H. Seward is a great man. I derive one of my great sources of encouragement from the fact that he is willing—and they say he is—to be run as the Republican candidate; for everybody knows that he never allows his name to be mixed up with a hopeless cause. That is, to be sure, no great honour to him—only to his sagacity; but when the doves come to our windows, when the rats run to the ship, not from it, it is a good sign. I take him as a good sign. I myself wish he could be elected; I would rather have him than Buchanan. But, still, I do not want him, and I will tell you why. Where there is Slavery in the Carolinas, there will never be any thing but a puppy-dog of the slaveholders in the Presidential chair; and Seward is too good wood to make a President of in such circumstances. What I want him to say is—as an appendix to his Rochester speech—and in saying it, I give you my type of political duty—I want him to come home to Albany and say, 'Gentlemen of the North, the battle is terrible against us. We cannot even go into the fight, inside this Union, without sacrificing our honour.' I want him to wind his bugle-horn, and call home from Washington to the Empire State every lover of liberty, and to say, 'Here, without sacrificing the honour of gentlemen, or the honesty of men, we will found a Republican Union, out of honest States, and make the South come and beg for admission.' Men say, 'Why not sit and vote in the United States Senate?' I will tell you why. Because the voter steals that vote. You would not have me go and give money to the poor at the Five Points, having first cut Wm. B. Astor's throat, and stolen his funds! That is not charity, is it? How does Seward get that vote in the Senate Chamber of the United States? He gets it by being the agent of men who believe that the Constitution of the United States orders the return of fugitive slaves, and who are willing that it should be done! He goes there to perform the duty of a State which acknowledges that she is bound to send back the bravest man who sets foot on her soil—that is the black fugitive. If you want a man to take Jackson's gold snuff-box, don't go in the streets; I will shew him to you in a box six feet square, coming on the railroad from Maryland to Philadelphia for the sake of liberty. I will shew him to you in the man who cannot read his letters; who knows nothing but the instinct God gave him; who clung, like a barnacle, to the outside of the wheel-house of a steamer from Georgia to Virginia, and thence to Philadelphia, and would have reached there and been a freeman, but for an accursed Yankee church-member, who found him and carried him back. The Church of America has not done, in the sight of God, good enough, since the days of the Revolution, to make the wickedness of that one member kick the beam. If I could say any thing better than that, I would."

CONGREGATIONAL UNION ON AMERICAN SLAVERY.

THE autumnal meeting of this large and influential body was held at Aberdare, in South Wales, commencing on Monday, 12th September ult. There were about 500 delegates present from various parts of the country, among whom were Edward Baines, Esq., M.P., the Lord Mayor of London, Mr. Samuel Morley, Mr. John Crossley of Halifax, Mr. A. Rooker, Mr. A. Morley, Rev. T. Bourne of America, and others.

At the meeting on Wednesday, the 14th, the subject of Slavery was brought forward, and the following resolution was moved by the Rev. J. Morris, Principal of Brecon College :

"Resolved—That the Congregational Union of England and Wales has frequently embraced the opportunity, in its annual and autumnal assemblies, of placing on record its sympathy with the enslaved myriads of our coloured brethren in the United States of America, and uttering its solemn protest against the aggravated iniquity involved in the maintenance of the system of Slavery in that Christian land, and especially as countenanced by a large number of ministers and church members;—that the pastors and delegates now assembled feel compelled again to reiterate their solemn condemnation of the enormous, wide-spread, and apparently increasing curse of Slavery in America;—that, while not insensible to the difficulties of effecting immediate and complete abolition, it would yet earnestly and affectionately call upon the Christian churches of the United States to bear their unvarying testimony against this enormous evil, and prayerfully to employ all scriptural means with a view to the extinction of this unhalloved institution, and let the 'oppressed go free.'"

"Happily," he said, "there was no difference of opinion in the assembly upon this subject. It was a matter of lamentation to all present that America, so admirable and so promising, in other respects, was dishonoured with so foul a blot, and that American Christianity, so renowned for its energy, for its life, and for its wide-spread revivals, was deeply implicated in this high misdemeanour, in this capital offence against human nature and the authority of God. (Hear, hear). It was not necessary, however, that they should mark the American Church with the brand of hypocrisy because it had not yet cleared itself of its connection with Slavery, or to suspend our opinion of the Religious Revival in America, until we see what effect the movement will have on the question of Slavery; for depend upon it that the religion of America would ultimately extinguish that great wrong with which her fair fame is now stained."

MR. A. MORLEY seconded the resolution, which was unanimously carried.

Rev. T. Bourne, Vice-President of the African Civilization Society of New York,

after having received the right-hand of fellowship from the Rev. Dr. Legge, the Presiding Officer, was then introduced to the assembly, and gave an account of the formation of the above Society, stating its plans and objects, and shewing that some of the free coloured people of the United States, with their anti-slavery friends, were determined to enter upon the work of African Evangelization, and also of promoting free-labour as an antidote to the slave-trade and Slavery. He urged the importance of these measures in relation to anti-slavery efforts, and called attention to the fact, that so long as Great Britain paid 25,000,000*l.* sterling to the South for slave-grown cotton, so long would emancipation be retarded. He also spoke of the indications of Providence in regard to Africa, that being the native soil of the cotton-plant, and capable of supplying the whole world with that staple.

IMPRISONMENT OF COLOURED SEAMEN.

WE have referred, in previous Numbers, to the stringent laws lately revived by the State of Louisiana, relating to coloured seamen arriving at any of its ports, on board of any vessel bound thither or thither driven. The Board of Trade have issued the following circular letter to shipping masters, with a view to put them on their guard against incurring the risks and penalties of these odious enactments :

"CIRCULAR—No. 114.

"Board of Trade, 14th June, 1859.

Instructions to Shipping Masters.

"The attention of my Lords has been directed to the stringent laws in force in the Southern States of America, with regard to the admission of free negroes.

"It has happened that coloured seamen serving in British merchant ships have suffered in American ports from the operation of these laws, and when the British Consul has endeavoured to protect them, he has been embarrassed by the difficulty of producing proof of their nationality.

"Under these circumstances, and in the absence of any means available in this country of furnishing coloured seamen with certificates of birth, my Lords think that all shipping masters, before coloured seamen are engaged for voyages to the Southern ports of the United States, should warn such seamen, and the masters who engage them, of the inconvenience and risk to which they may be exposed through the operation of the laws above mentioned, and should point out to them, in case the masters determine to carry free coloured seamen to such ports, that they should be prepared with full evidence of their place of birth and their nationality.

"(Signed) T. H. FARRER.

"Assistant Secretary Marine Department."

The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 1, 1859.

THE WEST-INDIA LABOUR QUESTION.

WE have referred, in our Summary, to the reading of two Papers on these subjects, at the second day's meeting of the *National Association for the Promotion of Social Science*, recently held at Bradford. We append, from the *Morning Star*, a condensed report of the proceedings, and both papers *in extenso*. The papers were read in the 5th Section, devoted to *Social Economy*.

PAPER BY MR. S. CAVE, M.P.

"The relations between employers and employed, between master and man, form the subject-matter just now of anxious consideration to a very large proportion of thinking people in this country. I propose to myself to touch briefly upon a labour question which has been many years before the public, and is only just now freeing itself from the trammels of passion and prejudice, and shaping itself, as all such questions should, to the ordinary rules of discussion—I mean, the labour question of the West Indies. I may, perhaps, be excused for premising that I have carefully avoided every expression which could give offence even to the most jealous partisan of the opposite side to that which I have adopted, feeling that no cause is strengthened by hard words, and that a quarter of a century ought to have softened, if not extinguished, the violent personal hostility which so great a revolution as the abolition of Slavery necessarily excited. At the same time, I should have no business to come before this Association unless prepared to state my views distinctly and without reserve. I set out, therefore, with confessing my opinion to be, that, economically, the emancipation of the slaves has not hitherto been so successful as its great and benevolent originators could have desired; and I am strengthened in this impression by the candid avowal of one of its earliest advocates, Earl Grey, and the admission of a still more uncompromising adherent, the President of this Association. I believe that, on the whole, in a moral point of view, emancipation has succeeded. It may be suggested that its results would have been more beneficial had the conduct of both parties been different; had the promoters been less precipitate, and the colonists more amenable to reason; but this may be predicated of almost every great change which has provoked strong opposition. It may be conjectured that both parties, could they have looked into the future, would have acted somewhat differently; but the same would hold good, not only of political events, but of almost every action of our lives. Doubtless the abolitionists were sometimes unfair in selecting exceptional points of the slave system, and, in the manner since imitated by well-known writers, holding them up to the public as a picture of every-day life; but neither did the colonists see—what will now be generally ad-

mitted—that a single case of atrocity arising naturally out of a system, is sufficient for its condemnation. I say naturally arising, for though it may be reasonably objected that equal cruelties have frequently occurred in this country, yet these have been perpetrated in defiance of legal authority; the others, in the exercise and under the protection of it. It is clear that man is seldom fit to have uncontrolled power over man. Such power has overturned the reason of ancient Roman emperors and of modern despots, whose acts of insane tyranny can be only accounted for on this supposition; and well-authenticated anecdotes of slaveholders, especially of delicate and highly-civilized females, can be explained in no other way. The argument that interest will protect the slave is scarcely worthy of refutation, because the treatment of animals in this country proves that, as Bishop Butler plainly shews in his sermon on self-love, passion is ordinarily more powerful than a sense of self-interest. Surely, then, we need not stop to argue, that however ancient may be the institution of Slavery, it must be repugnant to that Being in whose sight all men are equal, and that therefore it ought not to exist. Proceeding to the results of emancipation, I believe that, looking at what the white and the better classes of coloured and black people in the West Indies are now, and remembering what they were in the days of Slavery, there can be, in a moral point of view, no comparison between them. True it is that this cannot be attributed entirely to emancipation, as a corresponding improvement has taken place in the same classes in this country; but I imagine that if there were any doubt about it, there is abundant proof in the instance of the Slave States of America that the temptations to immorality are far greater under the system of Slavery. The accounts of the lower class of negroes, and especially of the rising generation, are not so satisfactory. I doubt whether even these are worse than the worst population of our large towns, and I think the evil is owing mainly to the injudicious conduct of both parties, the colonists as well as the mother country, at the time of emancipation. Much has been attempted in mitigation of it, and we can scarcely be surprised if another generation pass away before the vices peculiar to Slavery, grafted on those springing from uncontrolled license, be rooted out. I believe the negroes have behaved as well as any people under similar circumstances would have done. It is, however, to be remarked, that the black population has most retrograded in those localities, where, from abandonment of estates or other causes, it has been most withdrawn from contact with the whites. This might have been expected from the longer experience of Hayti, and from the general history of the negro races in their own country; and it is worthy of consideration by those who have gone so far as to declare the prosperity of the European race unnecessary to the success of emancipation, and to picture to themselves the West-India colonies, peopled by civilized and well-governed communities, composed chiefly of Africans. In an economical point of view, and regarding the inducement held out to the slaveholding na-

tions to follow our example, I am sorry to consider that emancipation has not been successful. In order to institute a fair comparison, Barbados must be left out, and our short-handed colonies alone contrasted with slave countries, which are all thinly peopled. The Louisiana planter would not be convinced by the case of Barbados: he would naturally point to its dense population, and to his own boundless wastes, inviting the settlement of a population of small freeholders, to which Demerara would furnish a fitter parallel, as would Jamaica to her more flourishing neighbour, Cuba. It has, indeed, been said, on the one hand, that even Barbados is not so prosperous as during Slavery, because in those days the molasses and rum paid all the expenses, and no bills were drawn upon the proprietor at home; but this is explained by the fact, that every available acre is now planted with cane, instead of with a proportion of corn, which is now purchased from other countries. Although, therefore, the expenditure is greater, the value of land and the returns are greater too; but it does not follow, that under a slave system, with these improvements, it would not be greater still; and it must not be forgotten, that the greater the expenditure, the greater the risk of loss in bad seasons. On the other hand, it has been said that the prosperity of Barbados is not owing to the abundance, but to the economy of labour. Surely this economy argues a command. In Barbados the planter is not compelled by want of hands to let the weeds grow until they choke the canes, nor is he met by a refusal to adopt means for economizing labour, by new implements or otherwise, to which he is liable in Jamaica. No doubt the unlimited supply of labour and the total disregard of life in Cuba may lead to waste, but a similar result obtains from the inadequate supply in Jamaica. The rich man practises no economy, because he feels no want of it; but neither does the very poor man, who lives from hand to mouth, and, both as to quantity and quality, is at the mercy of the shopkeeper. In Louisiana, again, slaves are very expensive, and the supply is limited, therefore there is greater economy of labour. Without this, and without high protective duties, it is doubtful whether sugar cultivation under so uncongenial a climate could continue; but no American doubts, that if the present population were to be emancipated to-morrow, it would immediately cease. I will not weary you with figures which it would be impossible for you to check, and which frequently cover some fallacy, of which I could give many instances. *I will only state what is generally admitted, and can be readily proved from annual Parliamentary returns, that the quantity of produce made in our West-India colonies seriously fell off after emancipation, while that of Cuba increased; and though the perseverance of our planters, aided by immigration, has latterly improved matters a little, yet that the Spanish colony advances with far greater strides, and, painful as the truth is, that we import nearly as much slave-grown sugar now as we did before the emancipation of our own slaves; the only distinction being, that England now does per alium what she then did per se. What, then, is the cause of this result? Some would say,*

want of capital and means to pay the labourers; others, want of skill; others, lowness of wages and faulty tenure of land; others, poorness of soil; others, usurious charges of the merchants. But want of capital is rarely felt in this country or its dependencies, where there is a fair prospect of return, and no enterprise, much more, no property, is abandoned so long as it is remunerative; but when the means of cultivation are furnished, not out of profits, but from extraneous resources, it cannot go on. Sooner or later the crash must come, and the labourer must generally suffer some loss from the ruin of his employer. Want of skill could hardly be laid to the charge of planters of the same race as those of Barbados. The wages question is a question of profit, if it be true that wages are that portion of the profit which the labourer shares with the employer. Practically, every employer of labour knows that the higher the wages, the less work is done by the ordinary labourer or artisan: according to the rise of wages he takes his one, two, or three days a week holiday. I once asked a railway excavator in South Wales why he left off work so early. 'Oh,' he said, 'I can earn three shillings a-day by this time, and that is enough to get drunk on.' *The sufficiency of the wages is proved by the large savings of the Indian immigrants, who cannot work so hard as the negro.* It is said that the negroes were driven off their grounds at emancipation, and that if they were secured in the possession of land they would grow canes enough to keep the landlord's mill at work. Various attempts have certainly been made from time to time, proceeding even to eviction, for the purpose of obliging the negro peasantry to pay rent for their houses and grounds. These have been frustrated by the extreme cheapness of land in most colonies; and in Jamaica, generally speaking, they now live rent-free where their fathers lived before. But though in Barbados they undoubtedly plant canes, yet this is in very small quantities; and, like many other experiments successful in detail, it has failed on a larger scale. No sane proprietor in Jamaica, though he gladly grinds the canes of the neighbouring freeholders when they bring them, would trust altogether to so precarious a feeder to his mill. That there is nothing to prevent the negroes cultivating sugar to any extent is proved by the intelligence which arrived by the last mail, that a body of Cooly immigrants in Demerara were about forming a company for the purchase of a sugar estate. Then, as to the soil, if rattooning be a test, that is, the number of years canes will spring up year after year without being replanted, the British colonies, except Barbados, can compete with any soil in the world. It has been erroneously stated that the produce per acre in Cuba is larger. This error has arisen from the calculations including the molasses, which is omitted from our returns; though it may well be that the greater command of labour in Cuba, by enabling the manufacture of sugar to go on day and night without intermission, prevents the great loss, from spoiled canes and similar causes, experienced by the British colonist, while it enables the Cuba planter to bring fresh tracts of virgin land perpetually into cultivation—a laborious

process on which his rival can rarely venture. I need not tell manufacturers that lowness of wages would be a poor compensation for being compelled to blow out their furnaces, and stop in the midst of any process at the will of their workpeople; and that cheapness of labour in free countries, even if that were proved, would be of no avail without continuity. It may pay an employer well to give a workman 5s. a day for six days a week, while it would ruin him to give 2s. 8d. a day for three days. Whatever merchants' charges may have been in former days, they never charged from 12 to 24 per cent. interest, which is the ordinary rate in Havana. But supposing these charges ruined the proprietor, his land would remain the same. Many estates in England are swallowed up by mortgages, but they only change hands, they are not abandoned.

"Shades that to Bacon could retreat afford
Become the portion of a booby lord;
And Clefden, once proud Buckingham's delight,
Slides to a scrivener, or a city knight."

But they do not return to primeval wilderness as so many estates in the West Indies have done, that there are said to be labourers wanting work and unable to get it. This may well be the case in many districts till command of regular labour—which is far from being necessarily implied by people occasionally wanting work—restores confidence and attracts capital. And here I may remark in passing, that the sight of immigrants working regularly and receiving wages has already had its effect on the impressible character of the negro, for we are told, that since so many Indians have come to Trinidad, there has been a larger proportion of negroes at work on the estates in that island. How comes it, then, that it is received almost as an axiom, that slave-labour is dearer than free? The reason is, that in many instances it is really so: wherever supervision is impossible or imperfect, wherever labourers are scattered, wherever the work is only occasional, above all, where it requires much skill, and where the slave of inferior race comes into competition, as in temperate regions, with the white labourer,—in all these slave-labour is dearer than free. But in cases where the work is performed in large gangs, easily and economically controlled by one driver, the expense is less, as, in Australia, a large flock pays when a small one ruins the settler. Where men, women, and children, and very old people, are all useful, and can all be employed in different operations of the same culture, as in the case of sugar and tobacco, and where there is full occupation for the whole year, slave-labour is cheapest. Where the profit is not shared with the labourer there must be more for the employer; and though the employer in a free country nominally pays the effective labourers only, he really, either by increased wages or poor-rates, supports the ineffective part of the population quite as much as if he was their owner. If slaves do not work so hard as free negroes, then surely the outcry against their being overworked is unnecessary, and the stories of their being worked to death in Cuba in eight to ten years must be idle tales. If the slave-owner cannot compete with the free-grower, the

equalization of the duties in 1846 would have been inoperative. And if Slavery is so ruinous, how can we account for the tenacity with which the most practical people in the world cling, in spite of their convictions, to every shred of it? But if the slave in Cuba works to an extent which would enrich him in a few years in Jamaica, and yet receives only the miserable rags which half clothe him, and just food enough to keep body and soul together, it stands to reason that the master receives the labourer's profit as well as his own. Whatever, therefore, may have been the case with the modified domestic Slavery of the Old Testament, no one can doubt that Slavery in the aggravated form in which it prevails among Christian nations in the present day, and especially when recruited by the slave-trade, is a crime. Crime is, for the moment, more profitable than honest labour, but in the end honesty is the best policy, and the sword of Damocles hanging day and night over the slave-owners will sooner or later avenge the sufferings which create this ill-gotten wealth. No one works except from compulsion of some kind, and the tendency of man is to set up for himself rather than work for hire. In fully-peopled countries the mass cannot do the former, and therefore must do the latter. In new countries, peopled by Europeans, ambition and artificial wants protract the period of voluntary servitude, and are, with the aid of constant immigration, generally sufficient to keep the supply nearly up to the demand. In hotter climates, with superabundant land, and with a less ambitious race, a few days' labour for hire will secure an independence. The compulsion, therefore, is insufficient, and a contract which can be legally enforced is necessary to give the employer that authority over his workmen which every English farmer and manufacturer exercises. The examples of Barbados and Mauritius prove this. In all respects save one they started at emancipation on the same terms as our other colonies; but Barbados had an immense population; Mauritius, from its proximity to India, had the means of creating one. Each of these colonies makes, in consequence, double the crop it made during Slavery. The Bill of 1846 was unwise, because it gave the English market to the slaveowners without any stipulation, just at the time when they would have submitted to almost any terms to gain it. But supposing this measure to have been defeated, and at the same time the supply of labour to our own colonies restricted by the prohibition of immigration, the effect would have been a gradual diminution in the supply of sugar, and increased price to the consumer in this country without corresponding benefit to the producer. Whereas, if, simultaneously with the exclusion of slave sugar, labour had been supplied to the English colonies to fill the gap, and enable them all to increase in the way Barbados and Mauritius have done, sugar would have been as cheap and plentiful as it is now, with this difference, that England instead of Spain, would have supplied the markets of the world. The practical conclusion is, that when, by a well-regulated system of immigration under contract we can make the other sugar-producing colonies as prosperous as Barbados and Mauritius, the problem will be solved. America will

gladly rid herself of Slavery if we can teach her to do so without loss; and this once effected, we need not occupy much time in calculating how long Spain will be able to resist the pressure. Every obstacle, therefore, to the possession by the British colonist of a fair command of labour is also an impediment to general emancipation."

PROTECTION OF LABOUR AGAINST IMMIGRATION.

BY THE REV. H. FAWCETT, M.A.

"All probably are aware that wages depend upon the capital of a country, and upon the number of the labouring population. The law of this dependence can be very simply stated. The wage-fund is a component part of the whole capital of a country. This fund has to be distributed amongst the entire wage-population. If, therefore, capital increases whilst population is stationary, wages will rise: if, on the other hand, population advances, and the capital of the country does not, wages will fall. In our own country capital and population are both increasing with extraordinary rapidity. It might therefore appear impossible to decide whether wages will rise or fall; but if population continues to increase, the real remuneration of the labourer must ultimately diminish. The commodities which can be purchased with the money the labourer receives are his real wages. Our own population, if small, could be fed very cheaply, because all the food required could be obtained from the most fertile land. As the population increases, less fertile land has to be brought into cultivation, and food becomes more expensive. If, therefore, population constantly increases, no augmentation of the capital of the country can avert a deterioration in the condition of the labourer. This assertion receives at the present time strong confirmation. Thus it is not certain that the material condition of our poor has of late years improved, and yet England has never before advanced so rapidly in wealth and prosperity, production has never before been aided by so many mechanical inventions. The accumulation of wealth will not therefore ensure the social advancement of the people. The middle classes of this country are remarkable for their forethought. They are constantly striving to maintain their social position, and they will not incur the expenses of a family without due consideration. The labouring class are as remarkable for their improvidence: they marry recklessly. We can therefore anticipate the future with confidence, because, by education and other means, the habits and tastes of the poor will improve: they will possess the same prudence as the middle classes do now; they will consider as indispensable a degree of comfort which now they know not, and they will not sacrifice it by improvident marriages.

"Whilst by such prudential conduct our poor are obtaining an important advance in the remuneration of their labour, there may be an influx of manual labourers from other countries: swarms of Chinese may enter as competitors into our own labour-market, wages would rapidly decline, and it would seem that our own population was checked in order to give an outlet to less civi-

lized masses. Since prudence will alone raise the condition of the poor, it seems particularly important to discuss an aspect of the question which will appear to render such prudential conduct nugatory and hopeless. The difficulty which is here suggested has not, I believe, as yet been adequately considered. In this paper I shall chiefly confine my remarks to the immigration of the Chinese to Australia, and of the Coolies to the West Indies. The settlement of the Chinese in Australia has been discouraged by a poll-tax. I cannot discover whether it was feared that the Chinese would cause a reduction in wages. One of our leading journals summarily decided the point thus: Free-trade is adopted in Australia; how inconsistent, therefore, to forbid free-trade in labour! A great man has said that error lurks in generalities: an apt instance of this maxim is the assumption that the same reasons demand, and the same advantages follow, free-trade in labour as free-trade in commodities. The abolition of protective duties enables commodities to be obtained in the cheapest market, or, in other words, the labour and capital of a country work with maximum efficiency. It is often said that Australia is better off than the old country, wages are higher there than here, the rate of interest is also higher. Australia is thus prosperous because her population has encroached but slightly upon her fertile land, for moneyed wages are higher there than here, since her capital is greater compared to her population; and profits, or the rate of interest, are also high, in spite of this high remuneration of labour, because it is possible to obtain a supply of cheap food. If her population was to become proportionately as dense as our own, her economical condition would be assimilated to our own: she would have the same abject poverty as we have. China is the most densely-populated country in the world: from her the sources of emigration seem inexhaustible. If 10,000 Chinese have gone to Australia, why should not ten or twenty millions go? The blank would be filled up as spontaneously as water would find its level. To our Australian colonists the immigration of the Chinese is of the deepest moment. The importation of Coolies involves different considerations. Some denounce the Coolie traffic as a slave-trade in disguise: others maintain that these Coolies are necessary to the West Indies. Those who assert this are employers of labour, who full well understand that an importation of cheap labour will raise their profits; but this rise will be obtained at the expense of the labourers, who are thus always liable to be injured by a cause they cannot control. We have heard a great deal of West-Indian distress, but let us understand it is not pauperism we are asked to deplore, but to sorrow because labour is not so cheap as formerly, and, as a consequence, estates are reduced in value. The social condition of Jamaica is most happy; the returns of estates are not, it is true, so large as formerly, but the remuneration of the labourer has increased, their social habits have, in a corresponding degree, improved, and the free labouring population of that island form a prosperous community. Cheap labour would soon restore the value of these estates,

but it would also reduce the labourer to his former poverty. Even when the slave-trade difficulty, connected with the Coolie traffic, is overcome, the following question will be left: Should an act bound up with such consequences as is the importation of labour be done freely and irresponsibly? There would seem to be little room for doubt, for it will be enunciated as a social axiom, that each human being possesses an indefeasible right to apply his labour where he pleases. This right undoubtedly exists, but without consideration it is hazardous to pronounce the truth of any general proposition. What, then, is to be the index to determine the case in which it is just and politic to limit the privilege? I answer at once, the greatest happiness principle. Mr. Austen, in one of his remarkable lectures on the Province of Jurisprudence, has observed: 'The principle of general utility is an index of right and wrong which it is seldom necessary to apply. Maxims founded on the past experience of man are, in ordinary occasions, adequate guides; but when an emphatically extraordinary juncture arises, then we must resort to the principle of utility as the only safe guide to our conduct.' He gives this very appropriate illustration: 'The Americans were our colonists: we had a right to tax our colonists. Illegally they refused to be taxed, and therefore, on general maxims, we did right to enforce the tax.' This is how the point was decided, and we now know the misery, disaster, and disgrace with which that decision was replete. Some few, like Burke, took a different course, and instead of acting upon the right, they consulted the principle of utility, looked at the whole circumstance of the case, and asked, 'Is it for the happiness of mankind that the tax should be enforced?' They thus came to a different conclusion, and it is now a bitter thought to remember that their advice was not heeded. Similarly, freedom to apply labour is a right which should be most carefully recognised, yet if, in any case, this free immigration of labour was opposed to the happiness of mankind, a competent authority should not hesitate to restrict such freedom. We have seen that unrestricted immigration may sacrifice the welfare of a labouring population. This injury would, I believe, be unaccompanied by any compensating advantages to others. It will probably be said, a nation ought to welcome the opportunity of bringing the masses of backward countries into contact with an enlightened civilization; and when the increased happiness is calculated which the Chinese and Coolies would obtain in their new career, it will be found that the aggregate happiness of the human race will be augmented, and that thus the principle of utility, the test of our own choice, decides that such immigration of labour ought to be encouraged. Upon this I would, in the first place, observe, that hitherto civilization has done little for those who, in a civilized community, exist as an isolated and inferior caste. But, secondly, even admitting that it is a real advantage to these labourers who emigrate, I think that they cannot have a right to claim this advantage when it is obtained by sacrificing the prosperity of others, this prosperity having been obtained by past prudence. But in addition to this, I

believe that, in the end, the injury would not be confined to one party, but would be general. For instance, let us revert again to China. China, we know, is one of the most fertile and one of the most healthy countries in the world. When our own shores were dreaded as an inhospitable desert, China possessed many of the arts and forms of civilization, but what she was then, that she is now. She bore then, as she does now, the same miserable aspect: overpopulated, her masses are reduced to the most abject poverty. With the most careful agriculture, and the most incessant industry, the necessities of life can be but barely obtained; nay, even China has descended below this pitch of misery, for infanticide is encouraged as a necessary institution. Now I am willing to grant, that if twenty millions of Chinese leave their own country for Australia, they obtain a great material advantage: they leave a country populated to its utmost, for one where little of its land has been cultivated; they pass, therefore, from an overstocked labour-market to one where manual labour is almost at a monopoly price. China herself, for the time will be benefited (*pro tanto*) by this decrease in her population, but the advantage will be at once lost, for the blank will be almost instantaneously filled up, because if starvation did not prevent it, the population of China, could and would, in twenty-five years increase from 200,000,000 to 400,000,000: the general result would be one of unmixed misery, for Australia would, in fact, be converted into a second China, with the same deplorable misery. I therefore arrive at this conclusion, that the imposition of a tax upon the Chinese in Australia is a measure which may merit our especial commendation. I lay stress upon the principle of the measure, because it was not passed with a sufficiently clear reference to the objects I have mentioned, for on these grounds alone is it possible to justify any interference with the freedom of labour. A feeling of national self-sufficiency, sometimes dignified by the title of patriotism, may prompt the exclusion of foreigners, but it indicates an unmanly spirit. The exclusion of Chinese has, in many instances, been favoured on the plea that they are an unruly and disorderly people, but it is a perilous policy which is based on such grounds, for in this manner a nation would be too often visited with the sins of a few of its members. An agitation against the revival of the slave-trade, has aroused public attention to the Coolie traffic. In July last a most influential deputation waited upon the Duke of Newcastle with a Memorial. Some of the allegations of this Memorial were disputed, but I will suppose them to be true, and they were these: That deceit was often practised upon the Coolies to induce them to emigrate; that great hardships are endured in the voyage, which causes great mortality; that the spiritual wants of the Coolies are not properly attended to; that few females emigrate, and that much immorality is the consequence. But the memorialists take no account of a still greater grievance, for they expressly recognise the right of an unrestricted importation of labour, if humanely conducted. In Australia we have seen reasons to justify the protection of labour against a foreign supply, long before the question has advanced to that stage

when it is recognised as one in which the interest of the capitalist and the labourer are directly opposed. In the West Indies it has reached this stage, for there the capitalist confesses that he resorts to Coolie labour because he has to pay the home-labourer too much. Here, therefore, the opposite interests of the employer and the employed are openly avowed, and I strongly advocate that the interest of the labourer should be protected, for, if not, what will be the result? The capitalist's returns will be somewhat larger, he will therefore be richer. But what have we to place on the other side. The labourer will be reduced to poverty; he and his, we need not doubt, will be less happy; but there will be even something worse than this. Hope to the labourer will be gone, for, with an indefinite supply of foreign labour, prudential conduct will avail nothing to improve the condition of the labouring class. On these grounds, therefore, I warmly advocate, that the importation of Coolie labour should be stringently restricted.

"When the people of one country, of their own free will, emigrate to another, there seems to be three modes by which alone such emigration can be prevented: first, to render the existence of a stranger in his new home undesirable, by placing him under different laws, and by sanctioning public and private injustice towards him. Such a course, however, should never be permitted, for almost equal social degradation would result to the oppressor as to the oppressed. Secondly, the immigration may be altogether prohibited: this, though an extreme course, is in every way preferable to the first. Such a law would be definite and certain. Thirdly, a tax might be imposed, as in Australia. Under certain conditions, this is the proper course to pursue: the conditions to be fulfilled I conceive are these. The Colonial Legislatures should explicitly explain, that the tax is imposed to defend the interests of the home-labourer. Those who pay the tax should be placed in a position of social equality, all rights of property should be preserved to them, and they should be carefully protected against all outrages of national prejudice. A similar tax would serve the same ends in the West Indies and Guiana; but since the Coolies never immigrate to these parts without solicitation, a less stringent measure, such as the following, would probably suffice: no part of the general revenue should be devoted to immigration purposes, and no contract between an employer and labourer for a term longer than one year should be legal. To obtain foreign labour by a general tax, has this peculiar injustice, that the home-labourer is taxed for a purpose which inflicts upon him a great injury. Coolies must then be obtained by private enterprise, and no employer of labour would import Coolies without a guarantee that he could enjoy their services for a considerable time. Our own labourers at present require no such protection. England has never yet been threatened with an influx of Chinese, and whilst our own numbers rapidly increase, the population of many other countries is stationary. Connected with this subject, it is well that we should try to realize the social aspect of our future, and this future may be anticipated under two different suppositions. Our social condition may continue to be

much what it is now. A rapidly increasing population, a low remuneration of labour, much consequent misery, and a large overplus of labour, constantly compelled to emigrate. The time might at length come, when our colonies would be thickly peopled. The tide of our emigration would then be turned towards Europe, and then the continental labourer might fairly say, We object to your coming: by prudence we have made ourselves better off than you, and we will not suffer by your improvidence. I will now reverse the picture. Our labourers have improved; with better education they have become more provident; they have secured to themselves higher wages, and more social comforts; then our capitalists will have the same inducements to import labour, as the capitalists in the West Indies have now; it would then become a profitable speculation to charter a fleet of *Great Easterns* with cargoes of Chinese, for they think a shilling a-day high wages. The question between the capitalist and the labourer which I have here indicated opens a very wide field of inquiry. I cannot enter upon this, but I trust the consideration of a particular instance will place a clear issue before you. It is for the interest of the capitalist in the West Indies that labour should be imported: it is for the interest of the labourer that it should not be. Is a Government justified in protecting either of these opposing interests; and if so, which one? A Government ought never to interfere to do a thing, if the same end would be attained by individual exertion. This principle narrows the above question, because, if it is advantageous to the capitalist to import cheap labour, it will be imported: the interference of Government must be therefore on behalf of the labourer. It may be said that such interference would tamper with the rights of property. It is true that capital would be thus deprived of a potential gain, but the saving from which capital results would be made with a full knowledge that the additional profit to be obtained by such cheap foreign labour would not be permitted.

"The following difficulty may be plausibly urged. The wage-fund of a country is derived from its capital: the remuneration of labour varies directly as the amount of this wage-fund, and inversely as the number of labourers. Capital is the result of saving, and the amount saved is regulated by the rate of profit. A restriction of immigration would diminish the rate of profit, and therefore the wage-fund. Since a quantity (namely, the remuneration of labour) is expressed as a fraction, and both the numerator and denominator of this fraction are diminished, it would appear doubtful whether the quantity itself is increased or not. Up to a certain point, I confess this doubt cannot be removed; but at length, as I have before observed, even should the denominator continue to increase, and the numerator increase still more, although the remuneration of labour, estimated in money, would appear increased, yet it must diminish as far as it is important to the labourer, because to him it is chiefly composed of the necessities of life, and these necessities of life must rise in value. Ultimately it becomes as important to the capitalist as to the labourer that population should not advance; for suppose, as in China, that wages are no

more than sufficient to procure the bare necessities of life; if, when this is the case, population still further increases, these necessities of life will become more expensive than: some must either starve, or, if fed, can only be fed at the expense of the capitalist's profit, because the moneyed wages before given will not now procure the necessities of life.

"In conclusion, I may remark, that a discussion of the general subject of protection to labour suggests many difficulties, which will not present themselves to practical legislation. Thus, when immigration into any particular country is restricted, it will appear anomalous to determine a line of demarcation between different nations. But, at the present time, the immigration of the Chinese need alone be restricted. The Hindoos will not leave their home of their own accord; the Africans will not; and amongst civilized nations, the English are the only colonizers. But the Chinese are ready to invade the world, to ply their thrifty industry in every region where they can toil peacefully and securely. Not only have they swarmed to California and Australia, but New-York journals now begin to speak of the Chinese invasion as a danger so near at hand, that it must be faced; and I see no reason why our own shores should not be similarly invaded. A Chinaman will work for very small wages, and English capitalists would find him to be not only a cheap but a useful labourer. This willingness to emigrate is one of the many extraordinary phases in the national character of the Chinese. I will not hazard any explanation of this, for the science of national character has yet to be created, although perhaps destined to become one of the most important branches of political philosophy; but here is the undoubted fact, and it is one that is rife with the most portentous results, for China could soon supply a hundred million of emigrants without any decrease in her own population. The general freedom of intercourse need not therefore be sacrificed: none would be excluded from the universal commonwealth, unless it could be proved that the improvidence of one people would sacrifice the best interests and truest welfare of other nations.

We append, from the *Morning Star*, a condensed report of the discussion which took place after the reading of these papers.

"On Thursday, Oct. 16th, MR. STEPHEN CAVE read a paper on 'The West-India Labour Question.' After some introductory remarks, he said he should set out by confessing his opinion to be that, economically, the emancipation of the slaves had not hitherto been so successful as its great and benevolent originators could have desired, and he was strengthened in his opinion by the candid avowal of one of its early advocates, Earl Grey, and the admission of a still more uncompromising adherent, the President of that Association. He believed, that on the whole, in a moral point of view, emancipation had succeeded, and there was no doubt, that however ancient the institution, it must be repugnant to that Being in whose sight all men were equal, and that, therefore, it ought not to exist. He admitted, also, that, looking at what the white and the other classes of coloured and black people in the

West Indies were now, and remembering what they were in the days of Slavery, there could be, in a moral point of view, no comparison between them. Though this could not be attributed entirely to emancipation, as a corresponding improvement had taken place in the same classes in this country, if there were any doubt about it there was abundant proof in the instance of the Slave States of America, that the temptations to immorality were far greater under the system of Slavery. The accounts of the lower classes of negroes, and especially of the rising generation, were not so satisfactory. He believed the negroes had behaved as well as any people under similar circumstances would have done. It was, however, to be remarked, that the black population had most retrograded in those localities where, from abandonment of estates or other causes, it had been most withdrawn from contact with the whites. This might have been expected from the longer experience of Hayti, and from the general history of the negro races in their own countries. In an economical point of view, and regarding the inducements held out to the slaveholding nations to follow their example, he was sorry to say that emancipation had not been successful. To institute a fair comparison Barbados must be left out, and their short-handed colonies alone contrasted with slave countries which were thinly peopled. He would not weary them with figures, but would merely state, what was generally admitted, and could be readily proved from annual Parliamentary returns, that the quantity of produce made in their West-India colonies rapidly fell off after emancipation, while that of Cuba increased: and though the perseverance of the planters, aided by emigration, had latterly improved matters a little, yet that the Spanish colony advanced with far greater strides. He also reminded the Meeting that the import of slave-grown sugar into England was as great as before, the only difference being, that England now did that *per alium* which she then did *per se*. After rapidly tracing the causes of this state of things, and alluding to the arguments that were urged to account for it—as want of capital, want of means to pay labourers, want of skill, lowness of wages, faulty tenure of land, poorness of soil, and usurious charges of merchants—he said the practical conclusion was, that if, by a well-regulated system of immigration under contract, they would make the other sugar-producing colonies as prosperous as Barbados and Mauritius, the problem would be solved. America would gladly rid herself of Slavery if they could teach her to do so without loss, and this once effected, they need not occupy much time in calculating how long Spain would be able to resist the pressure.

"The REV. HENRY FAWCETT, M.A. (who is blind) made a very eloquent communication on 'Protection of Labour against Immigration.'

"MR. W. E. FORSTER opened the discussion by expressing his pleasure in finding that Mr Cave, who might be taken as the advocate of the planters, concurred with the friends of the slave as to the crime of Slavery, the difference between them being as to the economical result. He would not argue the question now, and he would only say that all he and his friends asked for was

a perfectly free immigration. (Hear, hear.) The immigration to the West Indies and to some of the French colonies could not be considered as free. (Hear, hear.) They asked for no more than that it should be spontaneous, the cost being borne by the planters, and that poor, ignorant, simple men should not be entrapped under false pretences. (Hear, hear.) He could not help thinking that the employers of labour in the West Indies were disregarding the real remedy for their grievances, and were endeavouring to evade the rule of supply and demand, under the pretence that there was a want of labour, and he quoted the opinion of the Governor of Barbados, that he had never known an estate go out of cultivation through want of labour.

"MR. NOWELL said, that during a recent visit to the United States he had been constantly referred, by the slave-holders, to Jamaica, as affording, in the number of plantations out of cultivation, indisputable evidence of the failure of emancipation. What, however, was the fact? He had been in Jamaica, and was prepared to state, that in the large majority of cases, the land now out of cultivation was not owing to a want of labour. (Hear, hear.) It was traceable to many causes, but not to that, and where proper means had been adopted the estates had been made to pay. (Hear, hear.) He concurred, however, with Mr. Cave in the opinion that where there was no European element, the negro population was sinking into a state of barbarism.

"The REV. MR. CHANNING (Boston, U.S.) said, the real question for their consideration now was, whether they should have free-labour or slave-labour universally. That was the question presented by the slaveowners of America, and that was the question with which they had to deal. He blushed to say that the slave-trade had been revived by his countrymen; and after dwelling on the inconsistency of England encouraging slave-produce, said that England ought to have risked a war with America on this question of Slavery, and if she had done so there would have been an end of it. As to the system of immigration, it was the interest of a certain class of men that labour should be increased, but he warned England against any thing which, under the specious name of free-labour, might in the slightest degree involve her in the support of Slavery in any form. (Hear, hear.) If Christendom were only Christian, there would be no difficulty, for they would not then stay to consider the interests of this country or of that, but the interests of mankind at large. (Hear, hear.) Returning to the influence exercised by England in supporting American Slavery, he said the question with the Southern slaveholders was, how they could procure labour to raise sufficient cotton to meet the demand of English manufacturers. The duty of England, in such a position, was to say, 'We will take your cotton, but we demand that it shall be the produce of free-labour;' and to back that up by carrying out their experiments in Africa, India, and elsewhere. In that way they would most effectually stop slave-labour. (Hear, hear.)

"MR. DUNCAN McLAREN observed that the fact had been overlooked, that in Jamaica alone 30,000*l.* a-year was paid towards the expenses of

Coolie immigration, the great proportion of which was drawn from the earnings of those whose labour these immigrants were to supplant. The planters ought to pay these expenses themselves. The first paper seemed to consider negroes merely as sugar-producing animals, but he apprehended that the question for them was, not whether they produced so many hogsheads of sugar more or less since they were emancipated, but whether they were better off. (Hear, hear.) He pointed out the evils of non-resident planters, and said that they could not expect to have any permanent improvement in the condition of the West Indies so long as the management of the plantation was entrusted merely to resident attorneys or agents.

"MR. LUDLOW said that the results of the emancipation of the slaves in the French West Indies had been most satisfactory. Previously the colonies were in as bad a condition as possible: now they were flourishing, were out of debt, and were developing their resources. There were many free-labourers, and the importation of free-immigrants had not been less than 30,000; but it had been conducted so as not to produce any evil results. In some instances, the slaves, on being emancipated, were associated with their masters; and though there had been many failures, there had been many successes; and there was one instance where as much as 60*l.* per man was divided among the workmen for the year. (Applause.) One of the conditions of progress among such a people was, that they should be treated as men, and with all the privileges which they claimed for themselves.

"The PRESIDENT, who had previously thanked Mr. Cave and Mr. Fawcett for their papers, said that the discussion to which they had just listened was a most important one, for the question raised affected the destinies of all mankind, and he had therefore allowed it to continue longer than he should otherwise have done.

"The section was then adjourned."

The following letter, on the Cave's Paper, and on a leader which appeared in the *Times* in support of it, but which we have not space to insert in our present Number, was addressed to the Editor of the *Morning Star*.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "STAR."

"SIR,—Mr. Stephen Cave, M.P., recently read a paper upon the 'West-India Labour Question,' at the Bradford Social Science Meeting. It was published this day in the *Times*, with a view, no doubt, to make many who were not present at that meeting acquainted with the views of the Chairman of the West-India Committee on this important subject. The *Times* backs up Mr. Cave with a leader. I congratulate both upon the moderation of their tone. It is in striking contrast with that which has heretofore distinguished their effusions. I believe it is the first 'good word' either of them has spoken for many a day in favour of emancipation. The *Times* especially may well express self-complacency on the occasion of its partial reformation.

"But, Sir, although Mr. Cave's paper and the article in the *Times* are remarkable, in their way, for their moderation, they do not the less contain fallacies and inaccuracies which it is desirable to lay bare. Be mine the task. I will solicit the favour of doing so in your columns, because, although the *Times* does not refuse admission to Mr. Cave's letters, attacking my veracity and impeaching my statements, it systematically excludes my replies. I do not make this a personal grievance, for I have nothing to gain or to lose by the favour of that journal; but I feel that such unfairness tends to damage a cause it is my privilege to advocate, and to prevent the public from forming a just conclusion on a most important public question. The hope of counteracting the baneful influence it exercises, by prostituting its unquestionable power to party purposes, and by permitting the personal prejudices of certain members of its staff to over-ride their duty to the public, is my excuse for troubling you on the present occasion.

"Mr. Cave has been singularly happy in producing a paper, which for vagueness is not to be matched. However, he admits that, considered from a moral point of view, emancipation has been a great success; on the other hand, he asserts that, commercially, it has proved a signal failure: in other words, that the abolition of Slavery ruined the West-India planters generally, and those of Jamaica in particular. He also asserts that slave-labour is cheaper than free-labour, and that to restore Jamaica and the other West-India colonies to prosperity, a system of coerced labour must be carried out; or, to employ his own words, 'a well-regulated system of labour under contract.'

"Prosperity, Sir, is a very elastic term. It is also one of relative application. Mr. Cave and his friends consider the annual table of exports as the sole barometer of a colony's prosperity. But although this may be a pretty fair index of the prosperity of a country where labour and trade are free, it is the very reverse in the case of one in which the latter is protected and the former coerced. The former condition of Jamaica offers a pertinent illustration of this fact. During Slavery—that is, during the period which Mr. Cave regards as that of the greatest prosperity of Jamaica—that island exported more sugar and coffee than the whole of the other colonies put together, and both commodities were protected by an enormous differential duty. Nevertheless, we have it upon the authority of the Parliamentary Committee inquiry into the condition of the West Indies, that at that very time the West-India planters—but especially those of Jamaica—were constantly complaining of impending ruin, and demanding aid of the Government. May I ask why Mr. Cave does not bring out this fact, and expose the cause of

a 'distress' which became proverbial? As Mr. Cave refers to the by-gone 'prosperity' of Jamaica, and it is demonstrable that her planters declared they should be ruined without Government assistance, I venture to challenge him to reconcile the prosperity of the island with the distress of the planters.

"I presume that to Mr. Cave's aversion to figures is to be attributed his opinion that slave-labour is cheaper than free-labour. I cannot account in any other way for his arriving at a conclusion so contrary to experience. It has been shewn over and over again, that, under the most favourable circumstances, the former is at a disadvantage of at least 40 per cent. in competing with the latter. Mr. Cave either wilfully ignores the mass of evidence bearing upon this point, which is to be found in the Parliamentary papers, and the most recent of which are, perhaps, also the most conclusive; or he betrays an ignorance of facts unpardonable in one professing—as he always does—to speak with authority. Should it be necessary, I can quote facts and figures in support of my statement in favour of free-labour.

"If emancipation has proved a failure, commercially considered, which I distinctly and emphatically deny; and if the Creoles have withdrawn from the cultivation of estates in sufficient numbers to affect the supply of available labour, the circumstance is attributable to causes yet in operation, which are capable of removal, and which, if removed, would most probably attract back to the estates a considerable majority of those who are wandering about in search of employment. An equitable rate of wages, punctual payments, honest dealing, and an assurance of work all the year round, would prove as strong inducements to the negro to labour in the West Indies, as they are found to be to agricultural labourers in countries where the rate of wages is regulated by the ordinary rule of supply and demand. In addition, let the injudicious system of mixing up the question of rent and wages be abolished, and another great cause of dissatisfaction would be removed, as well as one of the chief impediments to the settlement of the Creoles on the estates which require their labour.

"Mr. Cave asserts that wages in the West Indies are sufficient. He attempts to prove his assertion by referring to the 'large earnings of the Indian immigrants, who cannot work so hard as the negro.' But this only shews that the Indian immigrants accumulate money. It does not touch the question of the sufficiency or the insufficiency of wages. Besides, although it is undoubtedly true that considerable sums in the aggregate are conveyed away by returning immigrants, the amount possessed by each is really small. Mr. Carbery, one of the stipendiary

magistrates in British Guiana, shews, upon unimpeachable evidence, that the utmost a Coolie labourer can save is twopence a day. Now, the most industrious Coolie does not work more than 260 days in a year. And a careful analysis of the amounts taken away by return Coolies corroborates this statement. It is true, that many take away more than 20l., after completing an industrial residence of ten years; but the average amount does not exceed half that sum to each Coolie, and those who possess more have made their money by trading.

"What the anti-slavery party assert is, that in the West Indies the labour-market is not open; consequently, the rate of wages is not regulated by the law of supply and demand. It is a striking fact, that, since emancipation, wages have diminished in all our West-India colonies, except, I think, in British Guiana; or, if the actual money-wage has not been positively reduced, the amount of work required for the same amount of wages has been augmented. In Jamaica this has been notoriously the case. I confine myself at present to making the assertion in general terms, reserving proofs in case of need. I ask Mr. Cave and the advocates of immigration to explain the anomaly of a scarcity of labour with a falling rate of wages.

"Mr. Cave says that 'in Jamaica, generally speaking, the negro peasantry live rent-free where their fathers lived before.' I deny that this is the case. I declare the assertion to be untrue, and I challenge Mr. Cave to prove that, 'generally speaking,' he is borne out by facts. There are gentlemen at present in England whose local knowledge enables them to give Mr. Cave's allegation the flattest contradiction, and whose evidence is accessible at a day's notice.

"Mr. Cave's object in presenting his paper was to make out a plea for the continuance of immigration. He sets out by alleging that he has 'carefully avoided every expression which could give offence to the most jealous partisan of the opposite side.' In contradiction to this confession, he concludes by asserting that 'every obstacle to the possession by the British colonist of a fair command of labour is also an impediment to general emancipation.' In other words, that those who oppose immigration are the enemies of emancipation. I oppose immigration, Sir; that is, as it has been and is at present conducted, and I charge Mr. Cave and his clients with seeking to mystify the public mind, and with misrepresenting the views of the anti-slavery party in this country, in relation to the real merits of this West-India Labour Question. No one desires to prevent the British colonist from having 'a fair command of labour.' But we of the anti-slavery party assert that immigration does not give him a fair, but a most unfair command of labour, because, under the present system, he imports foreign labour, in a great measure, at the public expense; that is, mainly at the cost of the very

labourers who are superseded in the labour-market by the immigrants. He does even more than this, bad as it is, for he holds out promises to Coolies to induce them to quit their country for ten years, which promises he does not fulfil. The evidence of Mr. Caird, the Colonial Immigration Agent-General at Calcutta, is conclusive on this point. Let Mr. Cave define what he means by 'a fair command of labour,' and by 'a well-regulated system of immigration,' and let him give those who differ from him 'a fair' opportunity of learning the real points of difference between himself and them, before he again dares to stigmatize as enemies of emancipation persons who disapprove of the present system of supplying labourers to the West-India colonies. I make bold to tell Mr. Cave that the day has gone by when he and his adherents may hope to evade an open and a thorough discussion of this important question. They have vilified the anti-slavery party too much to permit them to rest until they have completely vindicated their position and their assertions; and I venture to add, that justice and reason will ultimately be found on their side.

"With regard to the leader in the *Times*, to which I have already referred, it is a specious apology for Slavery, on economical grounds. We are told that the slaveowners themselves abolished the slave-trade because they did not care for the introduction of any more Africans. Can any assertion be more untruthful? Like causes produce like effects. Why, then, did not the Brazilian slaveowners put an end to the traffic sooner? and why do the Cubans continue it to this hour? If the slaveowners did not care to introduce more Africans, will the *Times* condescend to inform us why, that we may arrive at the reasons which influence the Cubans to continue it? The service to the anti-slavery cause would be incalculable.

"We are told next, 'that free-labour is not so advantageous as Slavery to the owners of property.' This is reiterating Mr. Cave's proposition in other words. I can conceive of no general assertion more damaging to the cause of abolition all over the world; the more especially as it is false. It is equalled only by the hypocritical sentiment with which the article concludes. Were the *Times* sincerely desirous of promoting the abolition of Slavery, it would not strengthen the hands of slaveholders by furnishing them with false arguments and false statements in favour of the system they uphold, while putting up prayers for its extinction, which, under such circumstances, sound like blasphemies. Happily there is a public opinion in this country, and happily, too, there are other channels of appealing to it besides the columns of the *Times*.

"I am, Sir, yours obediently,

"L. A. CHAMEROVZOW.

"27, New Broad Street, Oct. 20."

AFRICAN CIVILIZATION SOCIETY OF
NEW YORK.

WE promised in our last Number to give some account of an influential meeting held in advocacy of the objects of this Society in Manchester, in September. From the detailed report, as given in the Manchester and other papers, we give extracts, and would be glad if the plans of this Society were known to all the friends of the African race in the United Kingdom.

"MEETING IN MANCHESTER.

"A meeting, in advocacy of the claims of this Society, was held yesterday afternoon, in the Mayor's Parlour, Manchester. Malcolm Ross, Esq., occupied the chair; and there were also amongst those present the Revs. Berkeley Addison, M.A.; W. M. Kerrow, D.D.; P. Thomson, M.A.; T. R. Bentley, M.A.; the Hon. C. H. Bartels, West Africa; Mr. Thomas Clegg, Dr. J. Watts, Mr. T. D. Crewdson, and others. After remarks from the Chairman, and a statement by Rev. T. Bourne of the plans and objects of the Society, Thomas Clegg, Esq., proposed the following resolution, which was seconded by Rev. W. M. Kerrow, M.D.:

"*Resolved*, that this meeting cordially approves of the objects of the *African Civilization Society*, and recommends it to the favour and support of the people of Great Britain; and that it hails with pleasure this evidence of the determination of the coloured race to engage in the great work of christianizing and civilizing Africa, and also to enter upon the arena of commerce and agriculture for themselves."

"The Rev. Patrick Thomson, M.A., proposed the next resolution, which was seconded by Rev. Berkeley Addison, M.A., recommending a subscription in behalf of the *African Civilization Society*, and the appointment of a Committee to carry out the resolutions, with power to add to their number."

The President of this Society is the Rev. Henry Highland Garnet, a coloured minister, who is extensively and favourably known throughout Great Britain. Its Vice-Presidents and other officers are of both races, among whom are Rev. Albert Barnes, Robert Lindley Murray, Dillwyn Parrish, William Whipper, Chief Justice Hornblower, George W. Taylor, Rev. J. T. Holly, Rev. E. P. Rogers, Rev. Theodore L. Cuyler, Rev. Henry Wilkes, Benjamin Coates, and other well-known philanthropists.

Mr. Garnet is an earnest and patriotic man, who sees clearly what is now needed to complete the effectiveness of anti-slavery efforts under the new issues presented, and unites with many of his race in entering with spirit upon the work of elevating the Africans and their descendants everywhere, so that they may supply the free-labour, which, with God's blessing, may compete successfully with the slave-grown produce now in such extensive use. From a recent letter we make the following extract:

"New York, Sept. 20, 1859.

"All we need now is the power to send out men: the men are ready when the money can be obtained. We will not be in haste, but a stone ought to be laid this year upon which to build in the future. Our English friends, above all other people on earth, would, I think, be interested in this great work. England has nobly emancipated and enfranchised my people in her Western Isles, and who knows but that the *same race* shall be instrumental in freeing *her* from her bondage to the slave-grown cotton of America, and, at the same time, carry freedom and the Gospel of our Lord to AFRICA, the dear land of my fathers! Let us keep the precious object ever before us, and pray, labour, and live for its advancement.

"I am, yours truly,

"HENRY HIGHLAND GARNET."

COLUMBUS ANTI-SLAVERY
CONVENTION.

A "CHRISTIAN Anti-Slavery Convention," was held at Columbus, State of Ohio, on the 13th of August last. The *Oberlin Evangelist*, in successive numbers, published during that month, details some of the proceedings of that Convention. Its great object seems to have been that the anti-slavery movement should be one more characterized by the sense of *religious rather than of political duty*. It is probably well-known that there exists at Oberlin a college whose constitution recognises the claim to intellectual culture of the coloured population equally with that of the community more at large. A community, in such a vicinity, may be supposed to be open to such commendable influences, which it were to be hoped should prevail in the larger commercial and more populous places. The spirit of avarice amongst the professors of religion, however, is not confined to these. It insinuates itself under plausible guises in places of less ambitious pretension. Appearing to accept the Apostle's assurance that "godliness is profitable to all things," and by analogy with our Lord's gracious promise, that to those who seek "first the kingdom of God, and the righteousness thereof" shall be added things necessary, (and of these He is pleased to give some enumeration—Matt. vi. 31. 34), so the Apostle does not omit advertence to this world's good, while he superadds emphatic mention "of the life which is to come." Man, in his fallen state, yet feeble in faith, however he may exalt his religious pretensions, is apt to be ensnared with this world's good, in that unlawful sense which the Apostle elsewhere describes to be one effect upon a perverted mind, as even to suppose that gain was godliness. In the case mentioned below—which we shall precede by quoting certain resolutions of the Convention mentioned—it seems to have been given to

certain sincere Christians to discriminate between the requirements of the Divine law, and the unjust law of man; thus removing the film created by man's great enemy, of insinuating obedience contrary to the command law of God.

"RESOLVED, That it is the duty of Christians and of Christian ministers, to bear faithful testimony against the sin of Slavery ecclesiastically, socially, and politically, through the pulpit and the religious press, and to carry the wrongs of the oppressed to the throne of grace in importunate prayer that God may speedily deliver them that are in bonds.

"RESOLVED, That to have any voluntary agency, official or otherwise, in the recapture or rendition of a fugitive slave, is incompatible with Christian character, and, unless repented of, should be punished by excommunication in the case of any church member guilty of the crime against humanity and God; that this Convention do therefore approve of the act of excision passed recently by the Market Street Baptist Church of Zanesville, Muskingum county, against a member who, in the capacity of Deputy U.S. Marshal, restored a fugitive to his claimant in Virginia.

"RESOLVED, That the example of the Oberlin-Wellington rescuers in patiently suffering a long imprisonment for their noble disregard of the unconstitutional, unchristian Fugitive Slave Act, not accepting deliverance on any terms that would compromise principle and weaken the moral effect of their act and testimony, and finally triumphing over the Government, and gaining a release honourable to themselves, but disgraceful to their prosecutors, and humiliating to the slave-power, meets our hearty commendation, and calls forth our gratitude to God, whose wisdom guided and whose grace sustained them."

THE ZANESVILLE CASE OF CHURCH DISCIPLINE.

"The main facts of this case we understand to be as below:

"1. E. T. Cox held the office of deacon in the Market Street Baptist Church, and also, unknown to his brethren, the office of Deputy United-States Marshal.

"2. May 1, 1859, he administered the sacred elements of the Supper to the church whom he serves as deacon, and, on the day following, he hunted down with fraud and force an alleged fugitive slave—a brother man, made no less than himself in God's image. This he did in his capacity as United-States Marshal.

"3. When called to account by the Church, he justified his course, defended the Fugitive Slave Law, and told the Church they might do as they pleased, and so would he.

"4. Thereupon the Church proceeded to excommunicate Deacon Cox from its communion.

"The preamble and resolutions embodying this vote of excommunication set forth that the said Cox had been the instrument of the United-States Government in returning to perpetual bondage a *fellow-man*, contrary to the spirit and teachings of our holy religion, and to the express command of God himself, Deut. xxiii. 16, 16, "Thou shalt not deliver," &c. Also,

that when human laws conflict with the divine, we are bound to obey God rather than men; that Christ's rule, "Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them," is obligatory upon us under *all* circumstances; and that though we may be required to *submit* to unjust laws, we are not required to *execute* them.

"As to the manner of proceeding, there seems to have been no lack of forbearance and moderation on the part of the Church. In justice to our common Christianity, they have acted with decision and righteousness, for which we are happy to do them honour.

"By a sort of general consent, the discussion of the duties and interests involved in the existence and aggressions of Slavery has these many years past been transferred to the arena of politics; and while it has become there a potent element, causing the downfall and rise of politicians and political parties, and controlling the action of legislatures and of governments, there has not seemed to be a corresponding accumulation of moral power brought to bear upon the vulnerable points of this system of wickedness. Nay, Slavery has seemed to gather strength and courage and boldness in the conflict, because the attack has been made upon its best fortified positions, and attention has been diverted to a great extent from its weaker side. Slavery has been glad to take shelter in such defences as the "Compromises of the Constitution," the "acknowledged rights of property," the "common inheritance in the territories," the claims of "law and order," and has acquired self-respect, and presented a show of propriety in the stand it has made.

"On the other hand, the friends of freedom, consenting to this arbitrament of the controversy, have reserved their most reliable forces, their irresistible weapons, and have sacrificed or forborne to use many of the advantages of their position; or, distrusting this method of conducting the work, have altogether retired from the conflict, and are waiting a more auspicious opportunity.

"At this present hour a great responsibility rests upon men who fear God and regard his law, to see to it that the conflict which is waging shall not fail from lack of the moral element, and that God shall not be compelled to frown upon it because it does not honour Him. Christian men must claim and exercise the right to bring all these questions, supposed by some to be exclusively political, to the test of morality and religion. They must bring them to the consciences of the people as matters which cannot be neglected without involving infidelity to God and man. They must claim for the pulpit and the religious press the right to speak out in clear utterances upon the great sin and shame of our land, and must see to it that this right is accorded, and that this duty is not neglected. They must make it a burden of prayer, private and domestic, and social and public, that the nation may be recovered to righteousness, and that the oppressed may be caused to go free. May the day for ever pass when worldly men have occasion to compliment their minister because never, in hymn, or prayer, or sermon, has he disturbed their equanimity by a reference

to the poor that cry, the needy, and them that have no helper, and when attendants upon prayer-meetings are shocked, as if a political topic had been broached, because supplication is made that God's law may triumph over wickedness framed into law by men.

"The curse of our land is a grievous one, founded in self-interest, and confirmed by centuries of existence and toleration. It has come to be regarded as an established element in our civilization, gloried in by its advocates, and endured by its opponents. It can never be removed until the heart of the people shall be stirred to its very depths with a sense of the sin and the disgrace—until it shall become a matter of earnest and anxious thought in the family, the school, and the church.

"There seems to be a perversion of the best sentiments of law-abiding people. Injustice is perpetrated and abetted, and excused, upon the ground that the laws must be respected and maintained. Marshals and bailiffs arrest the fugitive from oppression, and apologize for the loathsome work upon the ground that they are executing the law; commissioners and judges remand the victim to his oppressor, and call themselves the ministers of law; juries, impanelled as a safeguard of personal liberty and the rights of man, adjudge him a criminal whose heart has been moved with sympathy for the fleeing bond-man, because the law and their oath require it; the people, indignant, perhaps, but submissive, open their prisons to their God-fearing neighbour because he must suffer the penalty of the law; and, last of all, the Habeas Corpus, the time-honoured guardian of the right, looks unmoved upon the wrong, because such from the days of the fathers, has been the order of the Courts. The giant outrage at every step blasphemes the sacred names of Justice and Order and Law. When will men learn that law has a soul as well as a body, and cease to cherish and reverence the putrid form when the spirit has indignantly departed? Tyranny can devise no machinery so subservient to its own ends as this idolatry of the forms of law. It is perhaps the only sentiment which it can rally to its support in an intelligent and well-ordered people. There is unspeakable danger as well as wickedness in thus perverting and abusing the wholesome instincts of men. For a time it may serve the purposes of tyranny; in the end it will occasion a terrible recoil, crushing the very framework of law and government. Human nature cannot safely and permanently be thus cheated and wronged.

"Another form of this delusion is the impression that judges, and executive officers, and magistrates, are only a part of the machinery of Government, with no individual responsibility for their official acts; that they make good their official oath, which recognises God as over all, when they have subjected their consciences to human enactments and trampled under foot the law of God, upon the plea of sustaining the laws of men. The great patent fact is denied, that God holds all his moral creatures subjects of his

government to the extent of their entire activity, and accounts as treason against Himself this pre-allegiance to human requirements. There is no such dispensation from individual responsibility for official acts. The abdication of individual manhood to become the instruments of government is not permitted to any of God's creatures. The deeds they do as executors of infamous enactments must come with damning guilt upon their individual souls: 'when he maketh inquisition for blood he will remember them.'

"For this infatuation there is one remedy, sure and safe—an appeal from man's appointments to God's supreme law. Men have consciences, and they will not fail to recognise the validity of such an appeal when clearly and fearlessly made. The Christians of the land owe it to God and to their country, to rally at once to these foundations which are threatened with removal."

REVIEWS.

Anthony Benezet, from the original Memoir, by *Wilson Armistead*, Leeds. London: A. W. Bennett, Bishopsgate Street, 1859. Price 2s. 6d. gilt edged cloth: 2s. in stout boards.

The name of Anthony Benezet is so intimately associated with the earliest efforts made for the abolition of the slave-trade and of Slavery, that "it is a household word" amongst those who have followed up the history of this great movement. One of the first apostles in the cause of Negro freedom was the eminent philanthropist whose life forms the subject of Mr. Armistead's volume. Like many others, however, before him and since, whose efforts, though exerted for the "world's good," were unostentatious and "unseen of men," his worth and influence were scarcely appreciated to their full extent, until time had produced the fruits they had sown. The publication of the life of so good a man cannot but be beneficial, and we are glad to find it published in a form accessible to all. Mr. Armistead's reason for undertaking to reprint it from the original memoir is the scarcity of the latter. He has enlarged it considerably, and it now forms an elegant little volume, equally suited for the drawing-room table as for the private study.

The Slave's Champion; or the Life, Deeds, and Historical Days of William Wilberforce; by the Author of *The Popular Harmony of the Bible*. London: Seeley, Fleet Street. Cloth, gilt-edged, 5s.

This little book is another acceptable testimony to the life and deeds of another great man. It contains certain laudations of warriors which had better not have found a place in its pages, but it is otherwise penned a spirit that commends itself to us.

